Three fruitfull Sermõs made by Thomas Lever.

Anno domini.

1550.

¶ And now newlie perused by the authour.

M.

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GOD bee mercifull vnto vs. O God christen people, Christ Iesu the sonne of God, the wisedome of the father, the sauiour of the worlde, which hath redemed vs with his precious bloud, mooste pitifully lamentyng our miseries, & earnestly threatnyng our wilfull blindnesse, crieth out by the voyce of the wise kyng Salomon, saiyng: *Quia vocaui, & renuistis. &c. Prouer. i.* Because I haue called (saieth the wisedome of God) and ye haue denied, I haue stretched forthe my hande, and there was none that would beholde: yea, ye haue despised all my counsailes, and al my rebukes haue ye not regarded, I therefore shall laugh at your destruction, and I shall mocke, when it shall come vpon you, whiche ye haue feared. Assuredly good people, God, *Qui mortem non fecit, nec letatur in perditione viuorum*, God (whiche as the booke of Wisedome saieth) made not death, ne dooeth not delight in the perdition of man, cannot bee of suche affecte, as to delight in laughyng, or mockyng our miseries: but euen as that man whiche dooeth delight to laugh at other

mennes griefes, is a man moste farre of from lamentyng, and pitiyng them to doe them good: so is God so sore offended, and displeased with them that despise his cõmaundes, threatnyng or promises, while thei might haue mercie, that he will as it were rather of mocking, laugh and scorne, then of pitie lament, and helpe their miserable wretched griefes, when as thei would haue comfort. See therefore how mercifully God hath called by the layinges, and writynges of Moises, the Prophetes, and the Apostles, and how fewe haue harkened to beleue. See how wonderfully God hath stretched foorthe his hande, in creatyng heauen and yearth, and all thynges in theim conteined, to the vse, commoditie, and comfort of man: and how fewe do daily beholde these creatures, to be thãkfull vnto the creatour. See howe muche good counsaile, and earnest threatenyng, God hath giuen of late vnto Englande, by settyng foorthe of his worde in the Englishe tongue, causyng it to be readedaiely in the Churches, to be preached purely in the pulpites, and to be rehearsed euery where in communication, and how many

continuyng, yea, increasyng their wicked liues, regard not Gods worde, despise his threatnynges, feare not his mercie, feare not his vengeaunce. Without doubt good people, very many haue deserued the vengeaunce of God, and yet by repentaunce founde plentie of mercie: but neuer none that euer refused the mercie of God, hath escaped the vengeaunce of GOD, in the tyme of his wrathe, and furie.

Yea, but what mercies of God haue we refused, or what threatenyng of God haue we here in Englande not regarded: which haue forsaken the Pope, abolished Idolatrie and superstition, receiued gods worde so gladly, reformed all thynges accordyngly thereto so spedily, and haue all thynges moste nere the order of the primitiue Churche vniuersally? Alas good brethren, as truely as all is not gold that glistereth, so is it not vertue and honestie, but verie vice and hypocrisie, wherof Englande at this daie doeth moste glorie. Wherefore the woorde is plaine, and the fayynges be terrible, by the whiche at this tyme God threateneth to punishe, to plague, and to destroye Englande. It is a

wonderous plain woꝛde, to saie that Englande shall bee destroyed: and vpon this woꝛde insuyng, it should bee a terrible sight, to see hundꝛed thousandes of Scottes, Frenche menne, Papistes, and Turkes, entryng in on euery side, to murther spoile, and to destroye. This plain woꝛde of a credible persone spoken, with this terrible sight afoꝛe our yes in pꝛesence, would make our courage to fall, and our hartes to riue in peces, foꝛ wofull soꝛowe feare, and heauinesse.

Alas Englande, GOD, whom thou maiest beleue, foꝛ his truthe hath saied plainly, thou shalte bee destroied, and all thyne enemies, bothe Scottes, Frenche menne, Papistes, and Turkes, I doe not meane the men, in whom is some mercie but the maste cruel vices of these thy enemies, being without all pitie, as the couetousnes of Scotland, the pꝛide of Fraũce, the hipocrisie of Rome, and the Idolatrie of the Turkes. A hundꝛed thousande of these enemies are landed at thy hauens, haue entred thy foꝛtes, and doe pꝛocede to spoile, murther, and vtterly destroye: and yet foꝛ all this thou wꝛetched Englande,

beleuest

beleueth not Gods woorde, regardeth not his threatenyng, calleth not for mercie, nor feareth not Gods vengeaunce. Wherfore God beyng true of his woorde, and righteous in his dedes, thou Englande, whiche wilte haue no mercie, shalte haue vengeaunce, whiche wilt not be saued, shalt be destroyed. For God hath spoken, and it is written. *Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur.* Euery kyngdome that is deuided in it self, shall bee desolate, and destroyed. And Salomon saieth: Because thei haue hated learnyng, and not receiued the feare of God, destruction commeth sodainly: Yea truely, and bringeth Idolatrie vnto miserie, and proude men vnto shame. Yea, all here feele, see, knowe, I haue experience how that this realme is deuided in it self by opinions in Religion, by rebellious sedition, yea, and by couetous ambition, euery man pullyng, and halyng towardes theim selues, one from an other: it is not onely diuided, but also rente, torne, and plucked cleane in peeces. Yea, and euery couetous manne is an Idolater, settyng that mynde and loue vpon riches, whiche ought to be giuen vnto God onely.

Euery couetous man hateth learning and receiueth not the feare of God, for the greedie desire that he hath to the lucre of this worlde. Euery coueteous manne is proude, thinkyng hymself more worthie a pound, then an other man a peny, more fitte to haue chaunge of silkes and veluettes, then other to haue bare Frise clothe, and more conuenient for hym to haue aboundaunce of diuers delicates for his daintie tothe, then for other to haue plentie of Beifes and Puttons for their hongrie bealies: and finallie, that he is more worthy to haue gorgeous houses to take his pleasure in, in banketting, then labouryng menne to haue poore cotages to take rest in, in slepyng. Undoubtedly, GOD will make all those to fall with shame, whiche sette themselues vp in pride so high, that thei can not see other men, to be children of the same heauenly father, heires of the same kyngdome, & bought with the same price of Christes bloud, that thei take themselues to bee. What realme, that realme, that is full of couetousnes, is full of diuision, is full of contempte of Gods mercie, yea, and sclaunder of his woorde, is full of

Idolatrie,

Idolatrie, and is full of pride. Diuision is a signe of destruction, contemnyng of Gods mercie, causeth his vengeaunce to come sodainly: Idolatrie euer endeth in miserie, and pride neuer escapeth shame. Then if you feele, knowe, and haue experience, that Englande, by reason of couetousnesse, is full of diuision, is full of contempte of Goddes mercie, is full of Idolatrie, is full of pride. Flatter not your selues in your owne phantasies, but beleue the woorde of GOD, whiche telleth you truely, that Englande shalbe destroyed sodainly, miserably, and shamefullie. The same destructiō was told to the Sodomites, was tolde to the Niniuites, was deserued of the Sodomites, and was deserued of the Niniuites: But came vpon the Sodomites, and was tourned frō the Niniuites. And why? For because the Sodomites regarded not Gods threatenynges, and were plagued with Goddes vengeaunce, the Niniuites regarded goddes threatenynges, and escaped Goddes vengeaunce.

Now all you Englishemen, at the reuerence of God, for the tender mercies of

A.d. Iesu

Jesu Christ, for the reuerent loue to your moste gentle, and gracious kyng, for the sauegarde of your countrey, and for tender pitie of your owne wiues, your children, and your selues, cause not England to bee destroied with Gods vengeaunce, as was the Citie of the Sodomites: But repent, lamente, and amende your liues, as did the good Niniuites. For if ye spedely repente, and pitifully lamente, and bee ashamed of your vainglorie, coueteousnesse, and ambition, ye shall cause coueteous, seditious, proude, and vicious England, sodainly, miserably, yea, and shamefully in the sighte, and iudgemente of the worlde, to vanishe awaie. And so synne and abhomination, destroied by the repentaunce of man, this pleasant place of England, and good people shalbe preserued and saued by the mercie of God. For els if man will not forsake his synne, God will not spare to destroye bothe the man, and his place with his synne.

Wherefore the Epistle, by the order nowe taken, appointed for this fowerth Sūdaie after twelfe tide, is a lesson moste mete to teache you to knowe, and lament your

your grieuous synnes of late committed, whiche as yet bee in suche case, that man without greate repentaunce cannot sone amende theim, nor God of his righteousnesse muche longer suffer thē. It is writ-ten in the beginnyng of the .xiij. Chapiter of saincte Paule to the Romaines on this wise.

EVery soule be subiecte vnto the higher powers, for there is no power but of GOD. Those powers whiche be, are ordeined of God. VVherefore he that resisteth power, resisteth the ordinaunce of God, but thei whiche doe resiste, shall receiue to theim selues iudgemente. For rulers are not to bee feared for good doynges, but for euill. VVouldeste thou not feare the power? Doe that whi he is good, and thou, shalte haue praise of it. But if thou dooe euill, feare: for he beareth not the sweard without a cause, for he is the minister of God to auenge in wrathe, hym that doeth euill. VVherefore ye muste nedes bee subiecte, not onely for wrathe, but also for conscience sake. For this dooe ye paie tribute: For thei are the ministers of

God

God, attendyng to this same thyng. Giue therefore vnto euery one dueties: Tribute to whom tribute is due, custome to whom custome is due, feare to whom feare is due, honour to whom honour is due.

Thus haue ye heard, how that euery one ought to be vnder obedience, and giue vnto other that whiche is due. Howbeit experience declareth, howe that here in Englande, poore men haue been rebells, and riche men haue not doen their duetie. Bothe haue dooen euill to prouoke Gods vengeaunce, neither doeth repent to procure Gods mercie.

Now for the better vnderstandyng of this matter, here in this texte, firste is to bee noted, how that *Anima*, the soule, for as muche as it is the chief parte of man, is taken for the whole man: as wee in our Englishe tonge, take the bodie, beyng the woorse parte for the whole. As if I saie, euery bodie here, I meane euery man or woman here. So in the fowerth of Leuit. *Anima qui peccauerit, ipsa morietur*. The soule that synneth, it shall dye: meanyng the manne or woman that synneth. And euen so here Paule by the Ebrue phrase

and

and maner of speache commaundeth euery soule, which is by the Englishe phrase euery body, that is to saie, enery persone, man, woman, and childe to be subiecte. As thou art in deede, so acknowledge thy self in thine owne mynde ὑποτάσσεσθαι, that is to saie, sette or placed vnder the higher powers, yea, and that by God. For as ther is no power of authoritie but of God, so is there none put in subiection vnder the, but by GOD. Those powers whiche be, are ordeined of God. As is the power of the father ouer his children, of the housebande ouer his wife, of the maister ouer his seruauntes, and of the kyng ouer his lande & subiectes: with all kinde of magistrates in their offices ouer their charge.

Now to proue that these be the ordinaunces of God, we haue by Gods worde bothe in the olde Testamente, and in the newe, their names rehearsed, their offices described, and their duetie commaunded. Yet notwithstanding, some there be that labour by wrestyng of the scripture, to pulle them selues from vnder due obedience: saiyng, that it appereth in the Actes of the Apostles, howe that thei had all

thynges

thynges common, & therefore none more goodes or riches, power or authorite, then other, but all alike.

Truthe it is, that the Apostles had all thinges common, yea, and that Christian men, in that thei are Christian men, rather then coueteous men, haue all thynges commō, euen vnto this daie. Howbeit, there can bee nothyng more contrary, or further disagreyng from that phantasticall commounesse, or rather from that Deuelishe disorder, and vnrighteous robberie, where as idle lubbers might liue of honeste mennes labours, then to haue all thynges common, as the Apostles had, as Christian men haue, and as I doe meane. And this is their vsage, and my meanyng that riche men should keepe to theim selues, no more then thei nede, and giue vnto the poore so muche as thei neede. For so S. Paule writeth to the Corinthes. I meane not (saieth saint Paule, speakyng to the riche) to haue other so eased, that you thereby should bee brought in trouble of nede, but after an indifferencie, that at this time your aboundaunce, might helpe their neede. And so did the Apostles take

order,

vyder, as it appereth in the fowerth of the Actes: *Quotquot habebant agros & possessiones. &c.* As many as had landes and possessions did sell them, and brought the prices vnto the feete of the Apostles, and diuision was made vnto euery one, accordyng vnto euery mannes neede. So thei which might spare, did freely giue, & thei whiche had neede, did thankfully receiue.

For so it is mete, that Christian mennes gooddes should be common vnto euery mannes neede, and priuate to no mannes lucre. And these common gooddes, to bee disposed by liberall giuers, and not spoiled by greedy catchers. So that euery man maie haue accordyng to his neede sufficient, and not accordyng to his spoyle, so muche as he can catche, no nor accordyng to the value of the thyng, euery manne a penie, a grote, or a shillyng. For thei that imagine, couet, or wishe to haue all thinges common, in suche sort that euery man might take what hym lucre, would haue all thynges common, and open vnto euery mannes lucre, and nothyng reserued or kept for any mannes neede. And thei that would haue like quantitie of euery thing

so be giuen to euery man, intending there by to make all alike, doe vtterly destroye the Congregation, the misticall bodie of Christ, where as there must nedes be diuers members in diuers places, hauyng diuers dueties. For as saint Paule saith: if all the bodie bee an eye, where is then hearyng: or if all be an eare, where is thā smellyng: Meanyng thereby, that if al be of one sort, estate, and roume in the common wealth, how can then diuers dueties of diuers necessary offices bee doone: So that the free harte, and liberall gift of the riche, muste make all that he maie spare, common to releue the nede of the poore: yea, if there bee greate neccessitie, he must sell bothe landes and goodes, to maintain charitie: and thus to haue all thynges cōmon, doeth derogate or take awaie nothyng from the authoritie of rulers. But to will to haue all thynges common, in suche sorte that idle lubbers (as I saied) might take and waste the gaines of laborers, without restrainte of authoritie, or to haue like quantitie of euery thyng, to be giuen to euery man, is vnder a pretēce to mende all, purposely to marre all. For

those

those same men pretending to haue cou-
teousnesse, would bee as riche as the ri-
chest: and saiyng that thei hate pride,
would be as highly taken as the best, and
semyng to abhorre enuie, can not bee con-
tented to see any other richer, or better
then thei theim selues bee. Now I heare
some saie, that this errour is the fruicte of
the Scripture in Englishe. No, neither
this, nor no other errour cõmeth, because
the scripture is set forthe in the Englishe
tongue, but because the rude people, lac-
kyng the counsaile of learned menne, to
teache them the true meaning when thei
reade it, or heare it, muste nedes followe
their owne imagination in takyng of it.
And the chiefest cause that maketh them
to imagine this abhominable errour, that
there should be no riche men, nor rulers,
commeth, because some riche menne, and
rulers (marke that I saie some, for all bee
not suche) but I saie some riche men, and
Rulers, by the abuse of their riches, and
auarocitie, doeth more harme then good
vnto the common wealth, and more grief
then comforte vnto the people. For now
adaies riche men and rulers doe catche,

purchesse, and procure vnto them selues, greate commodities from many menne, and doe fewe and small pleasures vnto any men. As for example of riche menne, loke at the Marchauntes of London, and ye shall see, when as by their honeste vocation, and trade of marchaundise, GOD hath endowed theim with greate aboundaunce of riches, then can thei not be content with the prosperous wealthe of that vocation to satisfie theim selues, and to helpe other, but their riches must abrode in the countrey, to buie fermes out of the handes of worshipfull gentlemen, honest yeomen, and poore labouryng housebandes. Yea, nowe also to buye Parsonages, and benefices, where as thei doe not onely buye landes and gooddes, but also liues and soules of men, from God, and the cõmon wealthe, vnto the Deuill and theim selues. A mischeuous mart of marchaundrie is this, and yet now so commonly vsed, that thereby Shepheardes be turned to thieues, dogges into Wolues, and the poore flocke of Christ, redæmed with his precious blonde, moste miserablie pilled, and spoiled, yea, cruelly deuoured. Bee

thou

thou merchaunte of the citie, or bee thou gentleman in the countrey, bee thou lawyer, bee thou courtiar, or what maner of man so euer thou bee, that can not, yea, if thou be maister doctour of Diuinitie, that will not doce thy duetie, it is not lawfull for thee to haue Parsonage, benefice, or any suche liuyng, except thou doe fede the flocke spiritually with Gods worde, and bodily with honeste hospitalitie. I will touche diuers kindes of riche menne, and rulers, that ye maie se what harme some of them doe with their riches, and authoritie. And especially I will begin with the that be beste learned, for thei seme belike to doe moste good with riches, and authoritie vnto them committed. If I therfore beyng a yonge simple scholer, might be so bolde, I would aske an auncient, wise, and well learned Doctour of Diuinitie, whiche cometh not at his benefice, whether he were bounde to fede his flocke, in teachyng of Gods worde, and keppyng hospitalitie or no? He would answere, and saie: sir, my curate supplieth my roume in teachyng, and my Fermer in keppyng of house. Yea, but maister Doctour by your

leaue, bothe these moze foz your vantage, then foz the Parishe comfozte: and therefoze the mo suche seruaũtes that ye kepe there, the moze harme it is foz your Parishe, and the moze synne and shame foz you Ye maie thinke that I am somwhat saucie, to laie synne and shame to a doctoz of Diuinitie, in this solemne audience, foz some of theim vse to excuse the matter, and saie: those whiche I leaue in mine absence, doe farre better then I should doe, if I taried there my self.

Now good maister doctour, ye saie the verie truthe, and therefoze bee thei moze worthie to haue the benefice, then you your self and yet neither of you bothe sufficiente, mete, oz able: thei foz lacke of habilitie, & you foz lacke of good will. Good will quod he? Naie I would with all my harte, but I am called to serue the kyng in other places, and to take other offices in the common wealth. Yeare then what I shall aunswere yet once againe: There is liuynges and rewardes due, and belonggyng to them that labour in those offices, and so ought you to bee content with the liuyng, and rewarde of that office onely,

and

and take no moze, the duetie of the which office, by your labour and diligence, ye can discharge onely, and dooe no moze. And so S. Paule writeth vnto the Corinthes, saiyng: The lorde hath ordeined that thei whiche preache the Gospell, should liue vpon the Gospell. He that doeth not labour should not eate.

By these textes well set together, you maie conclude and learne, that there as you bestowe your laboure, there maie ye take a liuyng, and there as ye bestowe no labour, there ought ye to take no liuyng. Well, let vs procede further vnto other nowe, for I perceiue that all that, whiche I haue spoken againste theim, that take greate gaines of their benefices, and dooe little good to their benefice, maie seme to be spoken againste the Vniuersities, yea, and againste the kynges maiestie: whiche now by reason of impropriatiõs, haue no little gaines of benefices, and yet bestowe no greate labour nor almose, vpõ the Parishioners of those benefices. Surely, for as muche as I feare the vengeaunce of GOD more, if I should not speake the truthe, then the displeasure of man, if he

he offended in hearyng of the truthe, truly I will tell you. Seyng that improperations beyng so euill, that no man can allowe them, bee now so imployed vnto the vniuersities, yea, and vnto the yerely reuenues of the kynges maiestie, that fewe dare speake against them, ye maiestie that some menne, not onely by the abuse of riches and authoritie, but also by the abuse of wisedome and policie, do muche harme, and specially those, by whose meanes this realme is nowe broughte into suche case, that either learnyng in the Vniuersitie, and necessarie reuenues belongyng to the most high authoritie, is like to decaie, or els improperations to bee mainteined, whiche bothe be so deuillishe, and abhominable, that if either of them come to effecte, it will cause the vengeaunce of God vtterly to destroie this realme. Doe not thinke that I meane any thyng againste that, whiche the kynges maiestie by acte of Parliament hath doen: no, nor that I will couer in silence, or allowe by flatterie that, whiche coueteous officers (some as I suppose now beyng presente) contrary to Gods lawes, the kynges ho-

nour,

nour, and the common wealthe vse to do. For in suppressyng of Abbeies, Cloysters, Colledges, and Chauntries, the intent of the kynges maiestie that dead is, was, and of this our kyng nowe, is verie godlie, and the purpose, or els the pretēce of other, wounderous goodly: that thereby suche aboundaunce of goodes, as was superstitiously spente vpon vaine Ceremonies, or voluptuously vpon idle bealies mighte come to the kynges handes, to beare his greate charges, necessarily bestowed in the common wealth, or partly into other mennes handes, for the better releue of the poore, the maintenaunce of learnyng, and the settyng forthe of Gods woorde. Now bee it, couetous officers haue so vsed this matter, that euen those goodes, whiche did serue to the releife of the poore, the maintenaunce of learnyng, and to comfortable necessarie hospitalitie in the common wealthe, bee now tourned to maintaine worldly wicked couetous ambition. I tell you, at the first the intente was verie godly, the pretence wounderous goodly, but now the vse or rather the abuse, and misorder of these

thynges is worldly, is wicked, is deuilish, is abhominable.

The Kyng maie haue, and would to God he had in his handes to bestowe better, all that was mispent vpon superstitious Ceremonies, & volupteous idle bealies. But you whiche haue gotten these goodes into your handes, to tourne them from euill to worse, and other goodes no from good vnto euill, be ye sure it is euen you that haue offended God, begiled the kyng, robbed the riche, spoiled the poore, and broughte a common wealthe, into a commō miserie. It is euen you, that must either be plagued with Gods vengeaunce as were the Sodomites, or amende by repentaunce, as did the Niniuites. Euē you it is that muste either make restitution, and amendes spedily, or els feele the vengeaunce of God greuously. Do not thinke that by restitution and amendes making I meane the buildyng againe of Abbeies, or Cloisters, no I doe not: for if charitable almose, honest hospitalitie, and necessarie Schooles, for the bringyng vp of youthe, had been indifferently maintained, and not cleane taken awaie in some places, I would

would not at this time haue spoken of restitution. Howbeeit sure I am, that if the ordering of these thynges, there had been in the officers as muche godlines, as there was couetousnes, superstitious men had not been put from their liuynges to their pensions out of those houses, where thei might haue had schoole maisters, to haue taught them to bee good, and for lesse wages: or for the reseruation of their pensions, receiued into Cures, and Parsonages, where as thei can dooe no good, and will dooe muche harme. Here as concernyng these thynges I saie, if man doe not make restitution, God will take vengeaunce. For the people that by this meanes, continewe in deuelishe superstition, and beginne vngracious rebellion, do dye, and are dampned in their owne synnes, but the bloud of their bodies and soules, shalbee required at your handes. Yea, and the abhominable errour of those, that would haue no rulers in authoritie, commeth partly by your occasion, whiche vnto your owne vaine glorie, and priuate authoritie, doe abuse the power and authoritie, ordeined of God to his glorie, and

to the cõmon wealthe. Thus ye perceiue how that some riche men and rulers, abusyng their riches and authoritie, doo make some other to iudge, that it should bee farre better then it is, if there were neither riche men, nor rulers: howbeeit, those men are farre deceiued. And saincte Paule telleth the truthe, saiyng: That those whiche bee, are ordeined of GOD. Then some will aske this question: seyng there is no euill of God, how can euill rulers or officers bee of GOD? You honeste men that bee here, and dwell in the countrey, heare this lesson, and marke it, and take it home with you, for your selues, and your neighbour. It is God, *Qui facit hypocritã regnare propter peccata populi*. It is GOD, as the scripture in the .xxxiiij. of Job doeth testifie, whiche maketh an hypocrite to be a ruler, for the synnes of the people. Now the people of the countrey vse to saie, that their gentlemen and officers, were neuer so full of faire woordes, and euill deedes (whiche is hypocrisie) as thei now bee. For a gentleman will saie, that he loueth his Tenaunte, as well as his father did, but he kepeth not so good a

house,

house, to make them cheare as his father did, and yet he taketh moe fines, and greater rentes to make them needie, then his father had.

An other will saie, that he would bute a Lordshippe of the king, for the loue that he hath to the Tenauntes thereof, but assone as he hath bought it, by takyng of fines, heighnyng of rentes, and sellyng aware of commodities, he maketh thesame tenauntes paie for it. An other saieth that he would haue an office, to doe good in his countrey, but as sone as he hath authoritie, to take the fee to hym self, he setteth his seruaunt to doe his duetie, & in stede of wages, he giueth thē authoritie to line of pillage, briberie, and extortion in the countrey. Nowe you of the countrey, marke your lesson I saie, and take it home with you. It is GOD that maketh these euill men, to be gentlemen, rulers, and officers in the coūtrey: it is the synnes of the people, that causeth God to make these men your rulers. The man is sometymes euill, but the authoritie from God is alwaies good, and God giueth good authoritie vnto euill men, to punish the synnes of the

euill

euill people. It is not therefore repining, rebellyng, or resistyng Gods ordinaunce, that will amende euill rulers. For sainct Paule saieth, that all powers bee of Gods ordinaunce. And in Job it is plaine, that euill men bee made rulers by God: so that who soeuer resisteth the officers, bee the men neuer so euill that bée in office, he resisteth the ordinaunce of God, he can not preuaile againste God, but surely he shall bee plagued of God. And as the people can haue no remedie againste euill rulers by rebellion, so can the rulers haue no redresse of rebellious people by oppression. Example of bothe wee haue in the thirde boke of the Kynges, where as it appereth that Roboam leauyng good counsaile, to vse the people with gentlenesse, and folowyng euill counsaile, to kepe them vnder by extremitie, did so exasperate and stirre vp the hartes of the people againste hym, beyng their king, that tenne partes of thē did by seditious rebellion, burst out from hym, and were neuer after subiecte vnto hym, nor to none of his posteritie. And those rebellious people by Jeroboā, whō thei them selues chose to bee their kyng,

or

or rather the capitaine of their rebellion, were brought into farre worse case, and more miserie then euer thei were afore, compelled to forsake God, and to vse Idolatrie, and were euer after plagued with sodain death, honger, dearth, warres, captiuitie, and all kynde of miserie.

Learne therfore ye people, if ye inforce to ease your selues, wheras ye imagine ȳ ye be euill intreated of mē, be ye sure that ye shall fele in dede, that ye shalbe more greuously afflicted by the ordinaunce of God. And learne ye rulers, if ye intende by onely suppression, to kepe vnder rebellion, be ye sure if ye thrust it doune in one place, it will breake out with more violence, and greater daunger in ten other places, to the further disquietyng of you beyng rulers, and to the vtter destruction of all your people beyng rebelles. Heare ye people what God saieth, by those people that will not be in subiection, because thei thinke the men to bee euill, whiche bee in authoritie. Yea, hearke what the Lorde saieth, as concernyng the proude, ambicious, and vncircumcised kyng Nabuchodonoser, whiche was an euill man

in

in deede, in. xxvij. Chapiter of Hieremie. *Gens & regnum. &c.* That people & realme that doeth not serue Nabuchodonozor the kyng of Babilon, and whosoeuer putteth not his necke vnder the yoke of Nabuchodonozor, the kyng of Babilon, I (saith the Lorde) will visette vppon that people in sweard, honger, and in pestilence. And in the. xxvij Chapiter in the same Prophet. *Catenas ligneas cõtriuisti, & facies pro eis ferreas.* Thou haste broken the Fetters of woode, and shalt make for them Fetters of yron. By the whiche he declareth, that as a prisoner in the keepyng of a gailer, if he breake his Fetters of woode, shal not therefore by the gailer bee set at libertie, but rather cheined with more strong fetters of yron: euen so, people beyng in the keping of God, if thei by rebellion breake their yoke of subiection, whiche thei now haue, shall not therefore by God be putte at libertie, but rather bee thruste into a more straite, greuous, and stronger yoke, where thei shalbee sure neuer to haue libertie nor ease. Wherefore ye people, if ye feele your burden is heauie, and your yoke greuous, patiently suffer, and cal vn-

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to the Lorde: for then he will heare thee, and he will relieue thee, and he will deliuer thee. And you rulers, bicause ye know that the people ought not to forsake, or refuse what burden or yoke so euer ye charge them with all, see that ye charge them with no more, then thei maie beare and suffer. For if thei crie vnto you for relefe and easemente, and you will not regard their sorowes, but imagining that thei be to wealthie, ye will increase their miserie, and decaie their wealth, as Pharao, and Roboam did: well then, if the examples of Pharao, and Roboam will not suffice you, marke what GOD, by the Prophete Ezechiel saieth (I praie you) in the .xxxiiij. of Ezechiel, *Andite pastores. &c.* Doe not thinke, that for because pastors bee named there, that therefore it is all spoken onely vnto the cleargie, but for as muche as al officers and rulers, ought rather to be faders, then spoilers, it is spoken vnto you officers, whiche doe not enter in by the doore of Loue, as a Shepeheard to fede, but climbe ouer an other waie through couetousnesse, as a thiefe, to robbe, and spoile the flocke of Christ in

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your

your office. Heare what the Lorde saieth vnto you officers, that fæde your selues by sekyng of gaines, and not your flocke by dooyng your duetie. Thus saieth the Lorde: I my self will vpon these pastors, and I will require my shepe at their handes, and will make theim to cease from fædyng of my flocke, yea, the pastors shall fæde theim selues no more, for I will deliuer my flocke out of their handes, and thei shall be no longer a preie for them to fæde vpon. Undoubtedly, if ye should intende by your aucthoritie, rather your selues to liue in riote, then to kæpe the people in quietnesse, your rulyng should not long continue. Surely there is none other remedie for riche or poore, high or lowe, gentleman or yeoman, to help to amende the disquietnesse in this realme, but to pulle, and roote out of your hartes, which is rooted in euery one of your hartes, the roote of all euill, whiche is coueteousnes. For euen you houtbande menne, whiche crie out vpon the coueteousnesse of gentlemen, and officers, it is euen coueteousnes in you, that causeth, and ingendereth coueteousnesse in theim. For, for to gette

your

your neighbours Ferme, ye will offer, and desire them to take bribes, fines, and rentes more then thei looke for, or then you your selues be well able to paie. It is a wonderous thing, to see gentlemen take so greate rentes, fines, and ingressaunce for coueteousnesse, to aduūnce their own landes: Howbeeit, it is a farre more wonderfull thyng, to see housbande men offer, and giue so greate fines, rentes, incomes, yea, and bribes for coueteousnesse, to get other mens Fermes. It seemeth to come of greate coueteousnesse for riche men, to make straite lawes to saue their owne gooddes: Howbeeit, it is in deede a farre more coueteousnesse for poore men by rebellion to robbe, and spoile other mennes gooddes. And this dare I saie, takyng all you to beare record, that the forest lawes that euer any tyraunt made in any land, if thei should continue many yeres, could not cause suche, and so greate murther, mischief, and wretchednes as ye perceiue and knowe, that this rebellion in Englande, continuyng but a fewe monethes, hath caused: by the whiche ye male learne that although Lawiers bee commoulie

called most couetous, yet compare them with rebelles, and as pickyng theftes, is lesse then murtherying robberies: so is the couetousnesse of greedie Lawiers, which begile craftely, farre lesse then the couetousnesse of rebelles, whiche spoile cruelly. Let vs therefore euery one acknowledging our owne faultes, whereas most euill springeth, there labour firste with moste diligence, to plucke vp the roote of that euill, whiche is couetousnesse: that God ingraftyng grace in vs, maie giue occasion vnto our rulers, rather to bee occupied in rewardyng of vertue, then in punishyng of vice: yea, that God bee not prouoked by our sinnes, to sende euill rulers to punishe euill men, but rather moued by our repentaunce, to preserue these good rulers, whiche bee sents already, to the greate comfort of all good men: especially the Kynges Maiestie, whose godlinesse, vertue, and grace, is like to make this realme to florishe, if our synnes doo not cause God, to thinke our realme vnworthy, to enioy the treasure of so precious a iewel. Many other noble men there be as I trust, some that I doe certainly knowe,

whose

whose tender hartes, doe muche lamente your griefes, and whose godly prouision, will be muche vnto your comfort, if your vnpaciente stubburnesse, dooe not disappoincte their good purpose. If euer at any time, God did send vnto any afflicted people relief, cōfort, and prosperitie, it came alwaies by good rulers, at suche tyme as the people beyng in affliction, did humble them selues in pacience, and cried vnto the Lorde with praier, as is apparente in the. Cvij. Psalm. *Clamauerunt ad dominum cum tribularentur, & de necessitatibus eorum liberauit eos.* When thei were in trouble, thei called vnto the Lorde, and he deliuered thē forthe of their troublesome griefes. And in the bookes of the Judges, and of the Kynges, ye maie reade how that God, to deliuer his people forthe of miserie, and to prospere theim in wealthe, did reise vp good rulers, as Gedeon, Barac, Jepthe, Sampson, Dauid, Samuell, and suche other. And without doubte, euen at this tyme here in Englande, GOD hath raised vp a gracious kyng, and some suche noble men, as be neither cruell, nor coueteous. If there be therfore in vs pacience,

humilitie, thankfulnes, and prayer, surely we shall sone fele relief, comfort, and prosperitie. Thei therefore, that as yet feele them selues greued, let thē call vnto the lorde, lokyng for his help in pacient sufferyng, not prouokyng his vengeaunce by vngracious rebellyng against his officers vnhappie resistyng his ordinaūce: vnhappie resisting maie I well cal it, for vnhappie are al thei ỳ vse it, purchasing thereby to thē selues iudgement, vengeaunce, and dāpnatiō. O how vnhappie haue thei bēn here in Englande, whiche haue not quietly suffered a comfortable reformation of their greatest grifes & harmes, to procede from God to them by his ordinaunce, but vnpaciētly grudgyng, haue offendēd God, disquieted this realme, and vndoen them selues, by resistyng Goddes ordinaunce. For the greatest griefe that hath been vnto the people in this realme, hath bēn the inclosyng of commons, as concernyng the whiche, the powers ordeined of God for that purpose, made an acte of Parliamēt, forbiddyng any manne to inclose vnto his priuate vse, that whiche of long tyme had been taken, and vsed as common. And afterwardes,

ferwardes, the same powers did sende foorthe Proclamations, warnyng theim, whiche contrary to this Acte of Parliamente, had inclosed groundes, offendyng the people, that thei accordyng to these Proclamations, should laie the same inclosed landes abroade againe, to satisfie the acte of Parliament, and to relieue the people. And for because neither of these waies tooke effecte, there was immediatly further Commissions directed, to put suche men in authoritie, as could easely, and would gladly, and were purposed spedily, to haue laied vnlawfull inclosed landes abroad againe, in suche quiet sorte, as should haue bēen moste to the kynges honour, to the wealthe of this realme, and to the greatest comforte of those, whiche were moste greeued. Now, how the people did take, or rather how thei did resist, and withstāde this, ye knowe. And I shal rehearse, when as I haue telled you of one other thyng, whiche beyng of long continuaunce in Englande, hath dooen farre more harme, and yet the griefe thereof farre lesse, yea, nothing at all felt. For the deadly wounde therof, did bryng the peo-

ple paste all feelyng of griefe. And the ve-
nemous poison, broughte the people in
suche a maze, that thei did not feele, and
perceiue them selues to bee in moste ho-
rible miserable wretchednesse, when as
the woorde of God, the breade of life, the
sauyng health in Christe Jesu, was take
awaie, and in a straunge language shutte,
and closed vp from them, so that thei with
out fælyng, were ledde from God by mã-
nes traditions, vnto vaine Ceremonies,
to bee moste venemously poisoned, with
deuelishe superstition. Therefore, when
as the mercifull goodnesse of God, behol-
dyng the miseries of the people, by the
prouidence of the Kynges Maiestie, and
his counsaile, purposely ordeined of God,
to comforte, helpe, and amende the people
of this realme, by the restoryng of Gods
woorde, and settyng it plainly forth in the
Englishe tongue, with the right vse, and
due administration of his Sacramentes,
to bee imprinted, and confirmed in our
hartes: when as I saie, by these gracious
meanes, and Godly order, God hym selfe
did offer vnto the people, relief, comfort,
and prosperitie: Then the vngodlie, vn-

gracious,

gracious, and vnhappie people, beeyng moste vnkinde, whereas thei should haue beenmoste thankfull, distrusted God, despised his ordinaunce, and presumed of their owne wilfulnesse, so farre as thei could, or might, to withstande the ordinaunce of God, refused the grace of God, and procured to theim selues the vengeaunce of GOD. Wherefore, we hauyng this terrible example in freshe memorie and seyng a gracious kyng, and Godlie rulers ordeined of God, to amende our griefes, although all that can not be amended in one daie, whiche hath been appairyng many yeres, yet lette vs pacientlye suffer for a time, not doubting but that that releife, comforte, and wealthe, whiche God hath promised vnto Englād by his worde, offered of his goodnesse, and begonne by his ordinaūce, shalbe brought vnto passe, by his wisedome and might: in suche wise as shall bee moste for his glorie, the kynges honour, the wealthe of the realme, and moste to the comforte of theim, that moste pacientlye in hope, trust in Goddes goodnesse. These examples haue I reherced, to teache you as it were by experiēce,

how true this saiyng of saincte Paule is: Thei whiche withstande, or resist the powers ordeined of God, receiue vnto themselues iudgement: whiche is vengeaunce, and damnation. Let vs therfore amende our lines, and bee good men, and we shall not neede to hate and feare, but haue great occasion to loue, and truste those, whiche be now our chief rulers. For thei be as S. Paule saieth, made rulers, not to put the in feare that doe good, but them whiche do euill: so that none needeth to feare these rulers, but euill doers. Whiche in euill doyng, haue deserued of the rulers to bee punished, and in resisting their power ordeined of God, doe hasten, and aggrauate towardes theim selues, the sore vengeaunce of God. It foloweth: wouldest thou be without feare of power, do that which is good, and thou shalte haue praise of it: for he is the minister of God to doe thee good, but if thou doe euill, feare. For he beareth not the sweard without a cause, but is the minister of God to auenge in wrathe, hym that dooeth euill. All these woordes saincte Peter concludeth briefly, in the seconde of his first Epistle, saiyng:

that

that those that haue rule and authoritie, be sent *Ad vindictam malorum, laudem vero bonorum*. That is to saie: to take vengeaunce of euill doers, and to commende the good.

Whosoeuer thou art therefore, and of whatsoeuer degree or sort thou be, if thou bee a subiecte, thou maiste remember, and consider, how that powers be ordeined of God for thee, if thou be euill, to make thee good by due correction: if thou bee good, to make thee better, by the incouragement of commendation, praise, & maintenance. Loke therefore all you that haue power, and authoritie of God, that ye vse it, as ye are commaunded by God: to correcte and punishe the euill doer, and to incourage, rewarde, and maintaine the good.

Se that for so farre as your power extendeth, there bee no euill vnpunished, nor no good vnrewarded. But hearke a little, and I shall tell you of an abhominable robberie doen in the citie, knowen to the officers of the citie, and as yet not punished, but rather maintained in the citie. There is a greate somme of money, sent from an honourable lorde by his ser-

maunte, vnto those whom he is indebted vnto in the citie. The officers knowyng that thei to whō this money is sent, haue greate nede of it, knowe also in what places, at what tymes these vnthriftie seruauntes, by whom it is sent, at gamning, banckettyng, and riote, doe spende it. If this be an euill deede, why is it not punished? Bicause it is not knowen some saie. But whether thei meane, that it is not knowen to bee doen, or not knowen to bee euill, I doubte. And therefore, here nowe will I make it openly knowen, bothe to bee dooen, and also to bee euill dooen, and worse suffered. But dooeth not many of you knowe? Sure I am, that all you that bee officers ought to knowe, that all that riches and threasures, whiche riche men, and rufflers, waste at greedie gamenyng, glottonous banckettyng, and suche riote, is not their owne, but sent by them, from the honourable Lorde of heauen, vnto other that be honest, poore, and needie: vnto whom God by his promise is indebted. We knowe, that *Domini est terra & plenitudo eius*. The yearth is the Lordes, and the plentie thereof. So that no man hath any

thyng

thyng of his owne: but hath receiued all of the Lorde. For, *Quid habes quod non accepisti?* What hast thou, that thou hast not receiued: yea, thou as a seruaunt, hast receiued of thy Lorde, whiche giueth vnto his seruauntes, the talentes of his treasures. And to knowe, for what purpose he giueth thē vnto you, reade Esaie the. lviij. *Frange esurienti panem tuum, &c.* Breake thy bread vnto the hungrie, and the nedie: and the wandryng, leade into thy house: when thou seeste one naked, clothe hym, and doe not despise thyne owne flesshe. Yeare you seruaūtes of the lorde, whiche haue receiued the treasures of the lorde, vnto whom the Lorde by you hath sente theim: vnto the hongerie, the nædie, the naked, and those that be of thesame flesshe and blood, that you your selues bee. Now you officers, knowing that greate riches, and treasures sent from the honourable lorde of heauen, vnto his welbeloued people, the nædie members of Christes bodie, by these vnthriftie seruauntes, is spēt at gamenyng, and riote, within your offices, ye muste nædes knowe, that an euill deede is doen. Lette vs therefore Iprais

you,

you, knowe howe it is punished. Peradventure ye will saie: there is no lawe in Englande, that appointeth any punishement for gamners. If therefore euill deedes maie bee dooen in Englande without feare, then is the swearde of authoritie, borne in England without a cause. But I wil tel thee that art an officer in England or in what Christian lande so euer it bee: whereas there is no certain punishment for any euill deede by mannes lawe, there the officer maie, & ought to vse any kinde of punishemente to amende, or restraine the euill doer, by Gods lawe. But without doubt, if those same men should spende in the same sorte of riote, so greate threasures sent from the kynges maiestie, vnto the aldermen of this citie, there should be punishement, correction, and remedie founde for them quickly. And of very cõscience, is not God as muche to be feared as the kyng, and the poore and needie, as well to bee pitied, and prouided for, as the riche and wealthie?

Well, gameners, rioters, and all euill doers, if thei doe not repente, shalbe damned in their owne synnes: but the bloud

of

of their soules shalbe required, at the hā-
des of the officers, whiche by feare should
haue caused them to leaue sinne. Yea, but
what shall we then saie by vsurie, which
is now made so lawfull, that an officer, if
he would, can not punishe, to make men
to leaue it? As concernyng this matter,
we haue plaine commaundement in the
fifteene of Deuteronomie. And in the fifte
of Matth. To lende to hym that needeth,
and would borowe. And in the sixte of
Luke it is plain. *Date mutuo, nihil inde sperantes.* Lende saieth Christe, trustyng to
haue no gaine therby. Here we haue two
commaundementes, the one is to lende,
and thother not to lende for lucre: now he
that breaketh Goddes commaundement
must needes goe to the Deuill. So that in
breakyng these twoo Commaundemen-
tes, here is twoo waies for you richemen
to goe to the deuill: Either in lendyng for
lucre, or els in not lendyng any thyng at
all. Many of you there bee, that who soe-
uer saith nate, will needes the one of these
twoo waies. For, if mannes lawe doue
stoppe vp vsurie, so that by lendyng, thou
canst haue no gaines, then wilt thou the

other

other waie apace, and lende nothyng at all. So shalte thou bee sure, to come there awaie to the deuill. For, then shall no mã in no case, haue any vse of thy gooddes. Therefore, neither the lawe, nor the officer, in sufferyng a little Vsurie, and commaundyng none, doeth maintaine or allowe Vsurie. But for because thou beyng an Vsurer, wilt nedes to the deuill, thei suffer thee to goe suche a waie, as some cõmoditie might come to other, by some vse of thy gooddes, rather then by stoppyng vp that waie, to driue thee there awaie, as no manne could haue any vse, of any of thy gooddes. For, where as GOD commaundeth, and thy nedie neighbour desireth thee to lende, and thou neither at the reuerence of GOD, nor for pitie of thy neighbour, wilte lende of loue frely: but contrary to Gods commaundement, without pitie of the poore, thou wilt not sticke to lende for gredinesse of lucre couetously: thy owne deedes declare thee to bee so voide of al godly charitie, and so full of deuelishe couetousnes, that thou art farre passe al mannes cure, and helpe, either by lawe, or punishemente. So will I leaue

thee,

thee, and speake of those that might, and ought to bee healed, by men beyng in authoritie, and yet will not.

For, there be some suche ioyly felowes, y thei will be subiect to no powers, whiche by feare mighte cause theim to forbeare their vaine pleasures in euill: vnto those nowe consequently dooeth sainct Paule speake, saiyng: ye must needes be subiect, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake. If ye be suche ioyly felowes, that ye feare not the wrathe, or displeasure of officers, whē as ye doe euill, yet grope your owne conscience, that ye maie fele what a greeuous synne it is, to withstande the powers ordained of God, to minister due correction vnto euill doers. For, not onely thy conscience, but also thine owne deede, in that thou dooest paie Tribute for this thing, shall testifie against thee: that thou knowest them to be the ministers of god, attēdyng to this same thyng, to this bringyng euill dooers in feare. It is therefore a matter of conscience for thee, so to withstande the powers ordained of God, that thei take no place in thee, but that thou wilte doe euill without feare, and main-

saine that, whiche is euill doen, by worse presumption. I doe not saie, that whatsoeuer the magistrates commaunde, is a matter of conscience, but whatsouer is euill, is a matter of conscience. And to resist right by might, so that thou wilte not be subiecte in humilitie, vnto those powers, whiche God by his right, hath sette ouer thee in authoritie, is a greate euill, and therefore a greate matter of conscience. Many examples we haue, whiche doeth proue, that euery commaundemente of magistrates, be not matters in conscience and yet euery resistyng, or rebellyng against their authoritie, is a matter in cōscience. The Iewes had a custome, confirmed by their elders, whiche were magistrates, that no man should eate with vnwashen handes: Christ Iesu lefte this custome, brake this tradition without any grudge of conscience.

Dauid knowing Saule the king to be a wicked man, and his deadly enemie, and hauyng Saule in a denne, where as if he would, he might haue killed hym: this Dauid had a good conscience, not to touch the Lordes annoynted, to suffer Saule to

be

seeking, and to submit himself Daniel was commaunded not to praie to God: the Apostles wer commaunded, not to preach gods worde. These did not rebell against the higher powers, no, nor yet for conscience obeye men, but rather they that obeied God. For Daniel did praie, & the Apostles did preach. So rise not, rebell not, resiste not, what soeuer the rulers them selues doe: and bee ye not so scrupulous, as to thinke the bonde in conscience vnto euery thyng, that a manne beyng a ruler, commaundeth thee to doe it especially, if God commaunde the contrary. Now it followeth, giue vnto euery one that which is due: Euery duetie belongyng to euery bodie, can not here be declared, no nor at this tyme rehearsed, I will therfore speake briefly of one thing, whiche shall be a generall example for all duelies. Paule. j. vnto the Corinthes xj. *Vnus panis vnum corpus multi sumus*: one bread saith he, one bodie we are that be many: by the whiche he declareth, that as of diuers cornes of wheate, by the liquor of water, knoden into dough, is made one loafe of bread: so we beyng diuers men, by loue and Charitie, whiche is the liquor of life, ioyned into one congrega-

tiõ, be made as diuers members of one mi-
sticall bodie of Christ, whorby I saie, as by
one example in the steede of many, learne
that the more gorgeous you your selues be
in silkes and veluettes, the more shame is
it for you, to se other poore and nedie, being
members of the same bodie, in ragges and
clothe, yea, bare and naked. Doest thou not
thinke them to be members of the same bo-
die, that thou art? Then art not thou a mē-
ber of Christe, then art not thou a childe of
God, then art not thou a christian manne.
One member ought aswell to be prouided
for, as an other: I doe not saie, ỹ one ought
to haue as costly prouision as an other. But
as there be diuers members in diuers pla-
ces, hauyng diuers duties, so to haue diuers
prouision in feedyng and clothyng. And as
thei be all in one bodie, so none to be with-
out that feedyng and clothyng, whiche for
that part of the bodie, is meete and necessa-
rie. Euen as ye do prouide indifferently for
euery part of your naturall body, by reason
of the whiche, ye are bounde, and subiect to
corruptiõ: so let no part or member of your
christian body be vnprouided for: by reason
of the whiche bodie, ye be heires of the hea-

urnly

uenly kingdome. And this one example generally shall teache you, to giue that which is due vnto euery one seuerally. Now here followeth but euen fower wordes: tribute, custome, feare, honor. Of these fower wordes, will I conclude almoste in fower wordes. Ye must giue tribute, to whom tribute is due: Custome, to whom custome is due: feare, to whom feare is due: honor, to whō honor is due. Vnder tribute bee conteined, tares, fiftenth, subsidies, and suche as be payed at sometymes to the rulers, and be not continuall. Customes be tithes, tolles, rentes, and suche as the people paie vnto the officers continually. For paiyng of tribute besides this commaundemēt of Paule, we haue example of Christes mother, whiche beyng at the hower of her trauell, went out of Galile vnto Bethlem, a toune in Iurie, there to be tared, and pay tribute vnto Cesar. As concernyng custome, Christ himself commaūded Peter to paie for them bothe, leste that thei should offende: that is, leste that thei, in not paiyng, should giue euill example vnto the people. So christen men must nedes paie both tribute, and custome. What tribute and custome good men may

take, it appeareth in that that goeth afore: surely euen so muche and no more, as shall sufficiently discharge their costes, necessarily bestowed in correcting of euill, and rewardyng good. Marke that I sate thei may or ought to take no more: for here I tel the their duetie. For truely, if thei doe require more of you that be their subiectes, then is it your duetie to paie that which thei aske, and not to bee curious to knowe, for what cause it is asked, but this only to take hede that with due reuerẽce ye paie it, as Paule commaundeth, and as Christe and his mother haue giuẽ you example. Feare and honour belong chiefly, yea, in a maner onely vnto God. For God onely for hymselfe, is to be feared and honoured. All other for Gods cause, are so to bee feared and honoured: as that feare and honour, whiche is giuen vnto them, may procede and come finally vnto God. For, *dominum deum tuum adorabis, & illum solum coles.* Thou shalt honour the lord thy God, and hym onely shalt thou reuerẽtly serue. As for the deuill, feare hym not, for he will doe no lesse harme vnto thee, then he can: he can doe no more then God will suffer hym. Feare therefore, lest that thou

thou offende God, and he suffer the deuil to vtter his malice, & mischiefe towardes thee. That feare, honor, or seruice, whiche according vnto gods commaundemẽt, is doen vnto those persons, whō God hath authorised to receiue it in his name, is doen vnto god. As that money whiche by commaundement is paied to thy seruaunt, in thy name, is paied vnto thee. Therefore Christ ruling in magistrates by authoritie, and beyng hongrie and colde, in the poore by pitie, doeth commaunde vs to giue, and promiseth that he hymself will receiue, and rewarde that honor of reuerence, seruice, & obedience doen to the higher powers, as to his ordinaunce in the common wealth: and also that honor of charitable almose, relieue, and comforte, whiche is bestowed vpon the poore and nedie, as vpō the liuely members of his owne body. As for that, whiche without Gods cōmaundement, of mans phātasticall imaginatiō, is doen vnto Images, must nedes be high dishonor, & greuous displeasure vnto God, whē as the liuely Image of God created with his owne hande, in flesshe & bloud, doeth honor, reuerence, and homage vnto a deade picture of manne, grauen in stocke or

stone, with a worke mannes tooles. God is also honoured in all his creatures, when as thei be taken with thankes, and vsed as he hath commaunded: and therefore, when as thei be vnthankfully taken, or wickedly abused, then is he dishonored and displeased.

Now heare a short conclusion. *Qui ex deo est, verbũ dei audit:* he that is of God, heareth the woorde of God. All you I saie, that bee Christian men, Gods children, and indued with Gods spirite, will heare the worde of Gods threatnyng, and fearyng his vengeaunce, repent, wil heare the worde of gods commaundement, and folowyng his counsailes, amende your liues, will heare the worde of gods promise, and patiently sufferyng, trust to his goodnesse. As for you that will not heare, and regard Gods worde, ye declare your selues not to bee of God. But for bicause ye haue the deuill to your father ye will fulfill the lustes, and desires of the deuill, whiche is your father. And the lust & desire of the deuill is, to hinder the worke and pleasure of God: and this is the worke and will of God, that we should repose our faithe, and truste in Christe Jesu, and bestowe our labour and diligence, in our own

vocation.

vocation. Therfore the deuill poisenyng al his with greedie coueteousnesse, will cause them euer to trust to their owne prouisiō, and neuer to bee content with their owne vocatiō, but being called of God to be marchaunt, gentleman, lawier, or courtear, yet to be ready at a beck, of their father ỹ deuil besides this their godly vocation, deuilishly to proule for, seeke, and purchase Fermes, parsonages, & benefices, to discourage housbandmen from tillyng of the grounde, and ministers from preachyng of Gods worde: that thereby maie come a greuous honger, dearth, & lacke bothe of naturall substance for the bodie, and also of heauenly fode for the soule. And then those in the countrey, that be not Gods children, but deuilishe vipers, wil hisse, whisper, and swell with venemous presumptiō, and their stryng of rebellion, to destroie bothe theim selues, and all the countrey. But thei of the countrey, or els where, that be the children of God in deede, knowyng coueteous richeimen, and officers to be sparpled abroade in the countrey, as the scourges of God, to beate them for their sinnes, like gentle childrē, will acknowledge their owne faultes, and pacietly

ly sufferyng correction, pitifully crie vnto their heauenly father for mercie, forgiuenesse, and comfort. So all you in England, that haue any godly knowledge, grace, and charitie, will saie with the Prophet Dauid. *Verga tua, et baculus tuus, ipsa me cõsolata sunt.* Thy rod, O lorde, and thy staffe, thei it bee whiche haue comforted me. Thy rodde of correction, whiche is these couetesous riche men, and officers, and thy staffe of comfort, whiche is the kinges maiestie, whom thou haste endowed with a gracious gentle nature, godlie education, wonderfull witte, and greate learnyng: yea, and those noble menne, whom thou hast called from their vaine pleasures, to take greate paines, of a reuerent loue towardes the kyng, and of a Charitable pitie towardes vs, to bestowe their landes and goodes, tyme, and studie, and all that euer thei haue, to prosper the kyng, to prouide for his realme, and to cherishe vs his people thereof. Thus thy rodde of correction, O Lorde, hath taught vs to be subiecte in humilitie, vnto all higher powers, as to thy ordinaunce: and this thy staffe of comforte, O Lorde, doeth incourage vs to loue and trust them, especially,

vnto

vnto whom thou hast giuen highest power and authoritie. So that we can now willyngly giue vnto euery one, that whiche is due: vnto the higher powers, reuerence, seruice, and obedience, vnto all in generall faithfull dealyng, and vnto the poore and nedie, charitable almose, relief and cõfort. Giue therefore vnto vs, O Lorde, mercie & grace, that we maie render vnto thee thankes and praise for euer.

A.

men.

A Sermon

preached the iiij. Sondaie in Lente, before the kynges Maiestie, and his honorable Coũsaile, by Thomas Leuer.

Anno Domini.

1550.

GOD be mercifull vnto vs: For the tyme is euē now comynge when as God must nedes, either of his mercie here in Englande, worke suche a wonderfull miracle vnto our comforte, as farre passeth mannes expectation: Or els of his righteousnesse, take suche vengeaunce of this lande, to the example of all other landes, as shalbe to our bitter destruction.

Ye knowe, that immediately after the preachyng of Noe, came the greate floudde that drowned the worlde. After the warnyng of Loth, came fire and Brimstone, vpon the Sodomites, & Gomorrians. When Moises had declared Gods threatenynges in Egipte, kyng Pharao and his people, were plaged vppon the lande, and drowned in the redde sea.

Suche plagues came euer, where Gods worde truely preached, is not beleued, receiued, and followed. But at the preachyng of Jonas, the Niniuites repented wonderfully. When the booke of the Lawe, was reade vnto Josias the kyng, he, with all his people, spedily repentyng, found exceading mercie, blessyng, and grace: as likewise all

other

other shalbe sure to finde, whiche heare the woorde of God, and kepe it.

For when Christ and his Apostles, had preached the gospell vnto the Jewes, those that beleued, wer deliuered from the curse of the lawe, vnto the blessyng of grace, out of worldly miserie, to bee inheritours of the heauenly kyngdome: and those that did not beleeue, were caste from God, oppressed of men ouercome, spoiled, murthered, and destroied of their enemies.

Wherefore Englande, whiche at this present tyme, by reason of the woorde of God, set foorthe, reade, preached, and communed, doeth in euery place heare the counsaile of God, the warnyng of Noth, the lawe of Moises, the threatenynges of the Prophettes, and the grace of the Gospell, as it was declared, and taught by Christ and his Apostles: This Englande must needes, either by beleeuyng of these thynges, obtaine of God wonderfull grace of amendemente, or els by neglectyng them, prouoke the vengeaunce of GOD, as a due plague and punishement.

Take heede therefore Englande, for if thou by vnbeliefe, let, and stoppe God from

worckyng

workyng of miracles, to thy comforte, then surely dooest thou prouoke God, to powre doune vengeaunce vpon thee, to thy vtter destruction: but if thou doe regard, receiue, and beleue Goddes worde, he will woorke wonderfull miracles, to thy cõfort, wealth and prosperitie. Yea, let euery mã, of what estate, or degree, so euer he bee, grope his owne conscience, for if he doe not there fele that the woorde of God doeth take place, to moue hym to repentaunce, and amendemente of life, then shall he bee sure sone to haue experience, that the vengeaunce of God, by a shamefull short ende of his wretched life, will bryng hym vnto an euerlastyng dampnable death. For, all those that will not creepe, vnder the mercifull winges of God, as the Chikennes of Christe, shall be caught, and deuoured of Puttocks, Yaukes, & Kites, as a preie for the Deuill. The winges of God bee stretched abroade here in Englande, by the Kynges gracious maiestie, & his honorable coũsaile, of mightie power, with readie will, to shadowe, defend, and saue all those, that with reuerent loue, come humbly creping vnder their ordinaunce, rule, & gouernaunce, which is the

power,

power, the winges, and the order of God.

The filthie greedie Puttockes, wilde Hankes, and rauenyng Kites, bee superstitious Papistes, carnall Gospellers, and seditious rebelles, whiche as ye haue seue by late experience, haue moste cruelly caught, spoiled, and deuoured the Lambes, the chekinnes, the children of God, redeemed, and bought with Christes blond. Wherefore, as Christ in his owne persone did once lamente, and bewaile Jerusalem, so doeth he nowe many tymes, in the persones of his Prepheticall Preachers, lamente, and bewaile Englande, saiyng: O Englande, how oft would I haue gathered thy children, as a Henne gathereth her Chikennes vnder her winges, and thou wouldest not? Euen with the same affection, that the shepheard crieth, seyng the Wolfe leeryng towardes the Shepe; and with the same affection, that the Hēne clocketh and calleth, spiyng the Kite houeryng ouer her Chikennes: with the same affection it behoueth the minister, and preacher of God, seyng vntollerable vengeaunce, hangyng ouer England, to crie, to call, & to giue warnyng vnto the people, saiyng, as it is written in the firste

of Esaie: If ye willyngly will heare, and obeie, ye shall eate the good comfortable fruictes of the yearth: but if ye will not, and prouoke me vnto anger, the sworde shall deuoure you. *Quia os domini locutum est.* For it is the mouth of the lorde that hath spoke.

Now your reuerende Maiestie, moste gracious kyng, and you honourable, wise, godly counsailers, you are the chief Shepeherdes, you are the moste reuerēde fathers in Christe, hauyng the winges of power, and aucthoritie, to shadowe, saue, and kepe thēse Lambes of God, the Chikennes of Christe, and these children of the heauenly father, redeemed with Christes bloud, and committed vnto your handes, to bee saued, kepte, and prouided for.

God be praised, with thankfull obediēce and louing reuerence due to your gracious maiestie, and honourable counsaile, whiche haue surely, wisely prouided for, diligently kept, and charitably saued this realme, by driuyng awaie the wilie Foxe of Papisticall superstition, and by casting out the vncleane spirite of ignoraunce, to Gods glory your honour, and our comfort.

But alas moste gracious kyng, and godly

ly gouernours, for the tender mercies of God, in our sauiour Iesu Christe, take good and diligent hæde, when ye be chasyng the wilie Fore of Papisticall superstition, that the greedie Wolfe of coueteous ambition, doe not creepe in at your backes: for surely he will dooe more harme in a weeke, then the Faroe did in a yere.

Take hæde that the vncleane spirite of Ignorance, retournyng with seuen other worse then hym self, finde no place vnwarded, where he maie creepe in againe. For, if he retournyng with his fellowes, enter in againe, then will he make the ende of this generatiō, to be worse then the begynning. Then shall you leese the rewarde of youre former diligence, and be dampned for your later negligence. Then shall the welspryng of mercie, whiche of long tyme hath watered this realme with the grace of God, be closed vp, and the bloudie floudes of vengeaunce, gushyng out from the wrathe, and indignation of GOD, ouerflowe all together. Then will not GOD by worlyng of miracles, declare mercie, but by takyng of vengeaunce, execute righteousnesse.

But God being as mercifull yet, as euer

he

he was, if you continue as faithfull, wise, and diligent as ye haue been, to handle the Wolfe, as you haue been the For, to keepe out the deuill, as to cast out the deuill: then shall the people of this lande leede in quietnesse, without feare of enill: then shall you continuyng to the ende, be sure of an hundred fold reward in this life, and afterwardes, euerlastyng life, ioye and glorie. Then shall God doe wonderfull miracles in Englande, to declare how mercie shall triuphe ouer righteousnesse.

And that we maie all dispose our selues, the more conuenientlye, for God to worke suche a miracle emong vs, we haue appointed for the Gospell of this daie, written in the sixte of Jhon, a wonderfull miracle of fiue thousande menne, fedde and satisfied with fiue loaues, and twoo fishes, whereas euery manne maie, and ought to learne his owne duetie, whiche shall clearely appere to a kyng in Christe, to heade gouernours vnder the kyng, in the Apostles being most nere about Christe, and to all other men, in that multitude of the people, whiche following Christ, were obedient to sit doune, at the commaundemente of his Disciples.

not knowyng, nor inquirying, why they were so commaunded.

And as surely as this wonderfull miracle was doen, to the greate comfort of them in Christes tyme: So truely is it leste in writyng, for to learne vs by pacience, and comfort of the scriptures, to haue good hope at this tyme. And as Christ hauyng alwayes, speciall respecte vnto his audience, did teache the Fishers by talkyng of Nettes, preachyng vnto the Iewes by diuers parables, and called the Gentiles, by the eloquence of Paule: so I, in handelyng of this miracle, hauing respect vnto this audience, will applie the wonderfull greate charitable prouision of Christe, vnto the kynges maiestie: the faithfull diligence of the Apostles, vnto the nobilitie: and the due obedience, and hartie thankfulnesse of the multitude, vnto all other of the commonaltie. Not doubtyng, but that charitable prouision of liberall benefites, will bee a thyng moste pleasaunte, and honourable for the kynges gracious maiestie: and faithfull diligence, in disposyng greate benefites moste conueniente, and commendable for al that bee in high authoritie: and finally, humble

obedience,

obediẽce, and vnfained thankfulnesse, to bee moste necessarie, requisite, and looked for at this tyme, in all inferiours, and common sorte of people in Englande.

Marke a little after the beginning of the firste Chapiter of Jhon, and ye shall heare, when as muche people commyng vnto Jesus, hauyng nothyng to eate, what Jesus did. I will passe the description of the wilderneſſe, with the causes, and the maner of the peoples going together, and beginne at that whiche Christe did, when thei were cõmmyng towardes hym.

JEsus liftyng vp his iyes, and seing muche people come vnto hym, saied vnto Philippe: From whence shall wee buye breade, that these maie eate. Thus he saied temptyng him: for he hymself knewe what he would doe. Philip aunswered vnto hym: Twoo hundred penyworthe of breade will not bee sufficient vnto these, so that euery one might take a little. One of his Disciples Andrewe, Simon Peters brother, saieth vnto hym: There is one boye here, whiche hath fiue Barly loaues, and twoo Fishes, but what are those emongest so many?

Iesus saied: Make the menne to sitte doune. There was muche grasse in the place: The men therefore satte doune, about the nomber of fiue thousandes. Iesus tooke the bread and after thankes giuyng, did diuide it vnto his disciples, and the disciples to theim that were set: And likewise of the fishes, so muche as thei would. And when thei were filled, he said vnto his disciples: gather vp the broken meates remainyng, that nothyng bee loste. Thei gathered therefore, & filled twelue baskettes full of those meates, which remained, after that thei had eaten. The men therefore seyng what a signe Iesus had doen, saied that this is truely the Prophet, whiche commeth vnto the worlde.

MErcifull Lorde, what a griefe is it to see those, whiche a man loueth hartly, with suche diseases infected, that euery thyng ministered by the Phisition, to doo theim good, by their owne vnquietnesse, and misusyng of thesame, doeth increase their greuous daungerous sicknesse? For these people in the wildernesse, destitute of all prouision, and in great lacke, and nede of bodily sustenaunce, were then by a wonderfull miracle, plentifully feede

of Christ, occasionyng then by the yearthly and bodily foode, to desire and seeke the bread of life, descendyng from heauen: but then toke, and turned that occasion cleane contrary, imaginyng to make Christe an yearthly kyng, and were so greedie to fede their bodies, that thei had no desire nor taste of the fode of the soule. And now England hauyng occasion, by the abolishyng of Papistrie, to embrace sincere Christianitie, tourned that occasion, to take the spoyle of Papistrie, which is the cause that many neglecte, and sclaunder sincere Christianitie. And so haue, and doe tourne all occasiõs of godly charitable reformatiõ, into worldly couetous corruption. And the people of this audience, hauyng greate occasion of comforte, by reason that in this place, thorowe the true preachyng of Gods woorde, all synne is plainly and frely rebuked, and those thinges especially, which doe appertaine vnto magistrates, whereby any man of indifferent iudgement, maie thinke that these magistrates beyng present, and willingly hearing, be purposed to amende: these people I saie, that thus haue a greate occasion of comfort offered vnto them, by their

wrong mistaking of it, doe turne all to their further grief and daunger. For thei speake vnreuerently, and vntruely sclaunder the Magistrates, not onely with the faultes that be here named, but also with rebuking imprisonyng, and forbiddyng of the Preachers. And when as by thesame mouthe of the true Preacher, their venemous tonges be rebuked, then thei spare not to saie, that the preacher hath learned his lesso in Jacke an Apes courte: doyng as muche as lieth in them, to make other men, neither to reuerence the magistrates, nor beleue the preacher. What thei themselues meane there by, peraduenture by reason of blindnesse, thei wote not. But we knowyng the craft of the deuill, as Paule writeth. 2. Corinth. 2. perceiue that he would haue nothyng in this place, laied to the rulers charge: Not fearyng howe muche bee spoken to those of the people, whiche bee paste any amendemente by woordes: But all that the deuill feareth, is, lest that the rulers be put in remembraunce, of the greate daunger that thei bee in, for sufferyng so greate enormities vnpunished emong the people.

I therefore, trustyng to doe moste good

in that, whiche the deuill laboreth the moste to hinder, will laie greate and many faultes vnto them that haue moste power, and authoritie. For sure I am, that rulers ordeined of God, to see the ignorant instructed, and the euill punished, bee in greate daunger of Gods vengeaunce, for the greate and manifolde enormities, whiche doe growe, and spryng of ignorãce, for lacke of knowledge, and of dissolutenesse, for lacke of due correction.

And you people be ye sure, that the more their daunger is, for lacke of prouision, and punishment for other mennes faultes, the greater is the damnation of theim that commit, and doe these faultes.

Now I trustyng to GOD, and not fearyng the Deuill, will proceade to declare, and applie this parte of scripture vnto this audience, so that for no man, I will cloke, or flatter any vice.

Iesus liftyng vp his iyes, and seing muche people commyng vnto hym. &c.

Here note twoo thynges: in the people, note commyng vnto Christ, and in Christ, note charitable prouisiõ for the people. For in this people doeth Christe declare by ex-

ample, and proue in experience his doctrine to be true, whiche he had afore taught, saiyng: First seeke for the kyngdome of God, and the righteousnesse thereof, and al these other, meanyng necessaries, shall be ministered vnto you. For here thei followyng Christe, to seeke the kyngome of God, had not onely this kyngdome of God, this bread of life, this woorde of saluation preached vnto theim, but also all their diseases healed, and their hungrie beallies with good meates, plentifully filled.

Yea, the plentie of these people hauyng enough, euen so muche as thei would, was farre more then the plentie of craftie Lawiers, deceiptfull Merchauntes, couetous greedie guttes, and ambicious prollers, whiche cā neuer haue enough: but alwaies continue in vnsaciable hunger, and nede of couetousnes. As in the. xxxiiij. Psalme declareth: *Diuites eguerunt*: The riche haue felte nede and hunger: but thei whiche seke the Lorde, lacke no goodes.

He that seketh to be riche, be he neuer so poore a slaue, or so mightie a Lorde, he falleth into diuers temptations, and snares of the Deuill: but thei that seeke the Lorde,

shall

shall lacke no goodnesse. Seeke for to be riche, and thou shalt finde sorowe, miserie, and mischief: seke for to be godlie, and thou shalt finde comforte, wealthe, and prosperitie, with all maner of felicitie. If thou wilt be godlie, thou must followe Christe; thou muste not followe the steppes of his fete, which be taken vp into heauen, out of thy sight, but thou oughte to followe the doctrine of his worde, whiche is here left vpon yearth, to guide the steppes of thy life in ỹ waie of peace. And whither will gods worde guide thee in the time of thy trouble & necessitie? Surely vnto the Lorde, whiche saieth: *Propter miseriam inopum. &c.* For the miseries sakes of the cõfortles, & sighynges of the poore, now will I rise, saith the lorde.

O Lorde, seyng thou haste many people in Englande, that as yet bee in miseries, without comfort, and in powertie, and lacke helpe, how doest thou arise vnto them? Vnto this the lorde answereth, in the .xxxiiij. of Ezechiel: *Suscitabo super eos pastorẽ vnũ. &c.* I will set vp ouer theim one Pastor, euen my seruaunte Dauid, he shall feede them, and he shall bee their Pastour, and I the Lorde will bee their GOD. This pro-

phecie

phecie was wzitten longe after Dauides tyme. Wherefoze by Dauid here named, is signified and meant suche a kyng as shal be as faithfull and diligent to keepe, feede, and cherishe his subiectes within his owne realme, as was Dauid to his people within Israell, that same is Christ in his kyngdome, in his authozitie: And we hope, trust and beleue, that our gracious kyng, indued with the faithfull diligence of Dauid, is ozdeined of GOD, to gouerne, cherishe, and feede vs the people of this his Realme. Wherefoze, accozdyng to the example of Christe Iesu, moste Christen and gracious kyng, foz the reuerẽce of God, whiche hath set you vpon the high hill of honour and authozitie, lifte vp your gracious yes of charitable pitie, and behold muche people thorowe out all Englande, commyng to seeke relief, ease and comfozte, sent from GOD vnto them, by your excellent maiestie. Foz although there hath been to muche mercie shewed vpon the generation of vipers, the vngracious Rebelles: Yet is there many poore people, whiche like simple Sheepe, shorne to the bare skinne, haue as yet little pzouision, and greate neede. Euen as fiue

thousandes

thousandes in wilderneſſe, followed Chriſt and his Apoſtles, ſo many thousandes in Englande, paſſe all other hope and refuge, followe youre gracious Maieſtie, and hon nourable Counſaile. For their parsones, whiche ſhould like ſhepheardes fede their, doe like theeues, robbe, murther, and ſpoile them. And their landlordes, whiche ſhould defende theim, bee moſte beaute maiſters vnto theim: yea, all maner of officers doe not their duetie, to keepe the people in good order, but rather take ſuche fees, as maketh the people very poore. Who ſo hath iyes, and will ſee, maie eaſely perceiue that thoſe perſonages, whiche be moſte in nomber, and greateſte in value throughout all Englande, bee no Shepheardes houſes, to laie vp fodder to feede the poore Sheepe of the Pariſhe, but theeuiſhe dennes, to conueigh awaie greate ſpoile, from all the rich men of the Pariſhe. I ſaie there is no perſone there, to relieue the poore and needie, with naturall ſuſtenaunce, in keepyng of houſe, and to ferde all in generally, with the heauenly foode of Goddes woorde, by preachyng: but there is a perſones deputie, or Fermer, whiche hauyng neither habilli-

tie,

tie, power, nor aunhoritie to doe the perso-
nes duetie in fedyng, and teachyng the Pa-
rishe, is able, sufficient, and stoute enough
to chalenge, and take for his maisters due-
tie, the tenth parte of all the Parishe. Like
wise other officers take many fees, and doe
fewe dueties: And especially Landlordes
take exceadyng fines, and rentes of their
tenauntes, and doee no good vnto their te-
nauntes.

Now my Lordes, bothe of the laitie and
of the Cleargie, in the name of God, I ad-
uertise you to take hede: for whē the lorde
of all Lordes, shall see his flocke scattered,
spilte and lost, if he folowe the trace of the
bloud, it will leade hym euen straight waie
vnto this Courte, and vnto your houses,
where as these great thieues, whiche mur-
ther, spoile, & destroie the flockes of Christ,
be receiued, kept, and maintained. For you
maintaine your Chapelens to take Plura-
lities, and your other seruauntes no offi-
ces, then thei can, or will discharge.

Fie for synne and shame, either giue
your seruauntes wages, or els let them go
and serue those, whiche doe giue them wa-
ges. For now your Chapelaines, your ser-
uauntes,

maunses, and your selues haue the Parso
nes, the Shepherdes, and the officers wa
ges, and neither you nor thei, nor other,
dooeth the Parsones, the Shepherdes, or
the officers duetie, except peraduenture ye
imagine, that there is a parishe priest, Cu
rate, whiche doeth the parsons duetie. But
although ye do so imagine, yet the people do
fele, and perceiue that he doeth meane no o
ther thyng, but paie your duetie, paie your
dutie. Yes forsothe, he ministreth gods Sa
cramentes, he saith his seruice, and he rea
deth the Homelies, as you saie, flatteryng
Courtiers, whiche speake by imagination,
terme it: but the rude lobbes of the Coun
trey, whiche bee to simple to painte a lye,
speake foule and truely, as thei finde it, and
saie: He ministeth Goddes Sacramentes,
he slubbers vp his Seruice, and he can not
reade the Homilies. Yet is there some that
can reade verie well, but how many of those
be not either superstitious Papistes, or els
carnal gospellers, which by their euill exã
ple of liuyng, & worse doctrine, do far more
harme, then thei do good by their faire rea
dyng, and saiyng of Seruice. But putte the
case, as it maie be, that there bee at a bene

fice

lies in some place at sometyme, some good Curate, all those sommes will make but a fewe in nomber, and yet ye see many Parsones, in many places absente from their benefices, which if thei be seldome absent, maie bee good, but if thei be continually, or for the moste parte absent, then can thei be neither good, honest, nor godly. For if their duetie bee undoen, then can no man excuse theim: If it bee dooen, then is it by other, and not by theim: and then why doe thei liue of other mens labours? Ye that preacheth the Gospell, should liue vpon the Gospell, as GOD hath ordeined: as for those, *Qui mollibus vestimentis domibus regum*, which goe gaie in kynges houses, and either mosell the labouryng ore, or els spoile the poor Parishe in the countrey, bee of the deuilles ordinaunce. As there is in all offices, some put in by Christe, some by the Deuill: so is there in Parsonages, some sent frō Christ, as Shepherdes to feede, and some from the Deuill, as theeues to deboure. Yea, emongest all kindes of offices, some be true Prophetes, and Shepherdes in deede, and some haue Shepe skinnes, and be rauening wolues in deede. The one taketh paines in do-

ing

kyng of his duetie, and the other seketh gaines, in professyng of his duetie Take heede of those, for thei are errraunt theeues.

Alas, if all those whiche take the names and professions of officers, for desire of lucre and honor, and doe not execute the duties belongyng to their offices, with paineful diligence, bee errraunte thœues, as thei be in dæde, then is there many a strong errraunte thœfe emongest them that be called honest, worshipfull, and honourable men.

For thei haue the names, the authorities, and vauntages of those offices giuen, and paied vnto theim, the duties of the whiche be very slenderly, or nothyng at all executed emongest the people.

If I were in any other place in all Englande, I could and would vse an other trade of preachyng, afore an other audience: but beyng called of God, by your appointment vnto this place at this tyme, my conscience doeth compell me to vse this trade, and no other, afore this solemne audience. Wherfore, with dreade and feare of GOD, with charitable pitie of the people, with moste reuerende loue and homage vnto your honours, I muste needes crie with the Pro-

phet Esaie: *Principes Sodome, populus Gomorre*: Heare the woorde of the Lorde, ye Princes of Sodome: ye people of Gomorra: *Quo mihi multitudo victimarum vestrarum*. What care I for the greate nombet of your Sacrifices, *Dicit dominus*, saieth the Lorde: rebukyng all the Sacrifices, Ceremonies, and feastes of the Iewes, whiche he hymselfe had commaunded to bee observed and kept: by the whiche thyng left in writyng, he doeth teache, and commaunde me how to speake of your well doyng here in Englande. Heare therefore ye Princes of Sodome, and ye people of Gomor, thus saieth the Lorde: What pleasure haue I, yea, what care I for all your Englishe Bibles, Homelies, and all your other bookes? Set forthe no more godlie seruice to honor me with: I hate theim all with my harte, thei are greeuous vnto me. I am wearie of thē: yea, it is a greate paine for me to suffer thē. Why, O Lorde, these bee good, these bee godlie, and these be necessie thynges.

Truthe it is, the fault is not in the thinges that be set forthe, but in you that haue set them forthe. *Manus enim vestre plene sunt sanguine*: For your handes are full of bloud.

Your

Your handes, your seruice, and your houses be full of Parsones liuynges, Preachers liuynges, and officers liuynges. And by you, the Parsone hath his dispensatiō, the preacher is put to scilence, and the officer vnpunished, for neglectyng of his duetie. And so through the negligence of the kepers (good order, which is the pale of the parke of this common wealthe decaied) the Dere thereof moste dearely boughte with Christes bloude, haue straied out of their owne seedyng, to destroie the corne of all mennes liuynges: where as verie necessitie hath cōpelled you, with suche force to driue theim backe, as muste needes destroie many of those Dere. Those people I meane, which you haue cherished and kepte, and as yet do loue, and pitie aboue all other iewels, commodities, and pleasures. Alas, these that take the liuynges, and doe not the dueties of Parsones, Preachers, Landlordes, Bailiefes and of other officers: these flatterers, these Wolues in Lambes skinnes, these deuilles in mennes visers, haue caused you to bee thought, and taken as cruell oppressours of those people, whose furious wilde rage ye did suppresse, and keepe vn-

der, of verie charitable pitie towardes the, and all other, whiche with that rebellious rage, should haue be all together destroied, if the helpe of your power and authoritie, had been any longer differred.

Surely, vntill that these prollers for theim selues, these childzen of the Deuill, these sowers of seditiō, bee taken out of the waie, either by reformation, or by destruction, your charitable pitie, and prouision for the people, and their reuerende loue, and obedience towardes you, shall neuer be seen felte, and knowen. Now, as Helie was giltie of the whoredome, extortion, and abhomination of his sonnes, so are your hartes full of crueltie, & your handes full of blood, not so muche by doyng, as by sufferyng all these euilles. Wherefore, *Lauamini, mundi estote:* Washe, and make your selues cleane with the teares of repentaunce. *Auferte malum cogitationum vestrarum ab oculis meis:* Awaie with the euill of youre thoughtes, from afore myne iyes. Open your hartes, that the swoorde of Gods woorde maie come to wipe awaie couetousnesse, whiche is the roote of all euill, planted in youre hartes. For, if that roote continue there, then

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can no good spryng from you: but euen the moste pure, and wholsome woorde of God set forthe by you, continuyng in couetousnesse, will bee abhominable in the sighte of God, offensiue vnto the people, and damnable vnto you your selues. Wherefore, *Quescite agere peruerse*: Seasse to peruerte, many thynges frō euill vnto worse. *Discite benefacere*: Learne to doe well, in conforming all thinges that be amisse, vnto a good order. *Querite iudicium*: Searche for righteous iudgement, whiche is almoste banished out of Englande. Alas, what a iudgemente is this, a superstitious Papiste, which hath made the faultes, shall haue a pension out of a Chauntrie, so long as he liueth, and a poor Parishe, whiche hath great neede, and doen no fault, shall lose and forfaite many Chauteries vtterly for euer. *Subuenite oppresso*: Helpe the oppressed people, that bee loaden with heauie burdeins, of paying wages to many offices, and faute for lacke of relief, and due seruice of the officer. *Iudicate pupillo*: Iudge so the fatherlesse children behoue, that wardship maie be a good prouision for fatherlesse children, and not an vncharitable spoile of yonge mennes landes. *Defen-*

dite viduam: Shielde the widowe from all mennes iniuries, and compell them not to Marrie your vnthriftie seruauntes.

Thus hath God by Esaie in his tyme, and by me at this tyme described Rulers faultes with a waie how to amende them. Therefore, *Principes Anglie:* Ye heade Rulers, and gouernours of Englande, first see, acknowledge, amende your owne faultes: and then, perusyng all vnder officers, consider and note how fewe Shepherdes, and officers doe feede and keepe, by doyng dueties, and how many theeues and Wolues, doe robbe and spoile the flockes, by takyng fees here in Englande: and then shall ye perceiue, that there muste needes be many Sheepe, that with their hartes, myndes, and expectation, dooe followe the kynges Maiestie, and you of his honourable counsaile, so farre paste the houses and citees of their owne prouision, that if thei haue not spedie relief at your handes, many of them is like to fainte, and decaie by the waie.

Therefore, this cōsidered and knowen, as Christ lifting vp his iyes, did teache you to see, and consider the people: so learne by that, whiche followeth in Christes doyng,

what

what shall be your duetie after that ye see, and knowe the multitude, the state and condition of the people.

And he saied vnto Philip, from whence shall we buye breade, that these maie eates But this he saied to proue hym, for he hymself knewe what he would doe.

Christe saied to Philip, as euery Christian kyng ought to saie to his Counsaile: From whence shall we that be gouernors kepers, and feeders, buye and prouide with our owne costes, labor, and diligence, bread, foode, and necessaries, that these maie eate and be relieued, whiche be our subiectes in obedience, brethren in Christe, and felowes heires of the heauenly kyngdome?

Pharao with his Counsaile in Egipte, consulted howe to bryng the wealthie people vnto miserie: so that he is a verie Pharoncall tyraunte, whiche laboureth by oppression, to thrust doune the wealthy people: And he is a faithfull Christian kyng, that humbleth hym self by diligence, to relieue, comforte, and set vp the afflicted people. For the one, by worldly policie, would haue muche honour, and the other of godlie Charitie, will doe muche good. Christe also

saied this, to proue and trie Philip, knowing hymself what should be doen. So that here, kynges and greate men maie learne to trie and proue the honestie, witte, and fidelitie of their Counsailers, in suche matters as thei themselues be so perfecte, that thei can discerne with what discretion and wynde the Counsailer doeth aunswere.

And in this we maie se, that God dooth not lacke, or neede any counsaile, or helpe of any manne, to dooe any good thyng, but would haue men to vnderstande, and consider how muche and wel that God, and how little or nothing mennne can deuise, and doe when as neede is. So therefore will God vse, and exercise men, as Christ here dooth vse, and exercise Phillip, Andrewe, and the other Disciples, for their owne necessitie, comforte, and commoditie to receiue, and learne of hym, wherewith thei maie doo good vnto others. And this lesson had not Phillip yet learned.

Philip answered, that .ii. hundreth penyworth of bread will not serue vnto these, so that euery one might take a litle.

In the whiche aunswere, as concernyng his witte, he declareth it to be to slender, to

prouide for so greate a matter; in so shorte tyme. And his mynde semed to be suche, as would not haue Christe to trouble hymself with so greate cares, but rather as the other Euangelistes doe declare, to sende the people awaie, and let them prouide for themselues. The same mynde and affection was in Peter, after that Christ had tolde his disciples, how that he must goe to Jerusalem to suffer sore paines, and miserable death. For then Peter tooke hym aside, and satd: Maister, fauor your self, doe not enter into suche daunger and sorowes. And it is not vnlike, but if youre Maiestie, with youre counsaile, speake vnto your nobles for prouision, now to bee made for the people: ye shall finde some that bee Phillipians, and Peters, whiche by settyng afore your eyes, the hardnesse of the matter, the tenderness of your yeres, and the wonderfull charges that should bee requisite, will moue and counsaile you to quiet your self, to take your ease, yea, to take youre pastyme, in Hauking, Hunt yng, or gammyng. Vnto whom your Maiestie maie answere, as Christe did vnto Peter: Auoide fro me Sathan, thou hinderest me by thy carnall temptation, for

do that thyng, whiche God hath moued me vnto, by his gracious inspiratiō. Thou hast no taste nor sauour how dilicious GOD is vnto a pure conscience, in godlie exercise of good woorkes. But all that thou regardest, and seiest, is voluptuous pleasure in worldly vanities. And therefore thou doest not perceiue, how that thei whiche bee indued with a speciall grace of GOD, mais finde more pleasure and pastyme, in godly gouernaunce, to keepe together and saue simple men, then in Hawkyng and Huntyng, to chase and kill wilde beastes. Yea, a godly kyng shall finde more pleasure, in castyng lottes for Jonas, to trie out offēders, which trouble the shippe of his common wealthe, then in castyng Dice at hasarde, to allowe, and maintaine by his example, suche thynges as should not be e suffered in a common wealthe. Yea surely, a good kyng shall take farre more delite in edifiyng, with comfort and deckyng with good order, the Congregation of his people, the churche and house of GOD, the heauenly citie of Jerusalem, then in buildyng suche houses, as seme gaie and gorgeous, & be in deede but vile yearth, stones, timber, and claie. Suche like answers

swere ought your Maiestie, and all noble men to make, if ye finde any of your counsailers more carnall then Spirituall, more worldly then Godlie Or els tourne awaie youre eares from suche Phillippians, and heare other, as Christe did.

Then said vnto him one of his disciples, Andrewe Simon Peters brother. There is a boye here that hath fiue Barly loaues, and twoo fishes, but what auaile those emong so many?

Note here that this boie was the Apostles page, and these loaues and fishes wer their vittailes. For as appereth in Marke, whē thei had made searche how many loaues thei theim selues had, this aunswere was made, that thei had fiue loues & twoo fishes: but what bee thei emongeste so many? As who should saie: although these bee al that euer we haue, and seme more mete to be kepte emonges a fewe, then to bee giuen to many, yet for because thei that become, whiche beyng many, haue more nede then we: therefore are we willyng to giue theim to bee disposed, and wishe that thei were of more value, to dooe more good emongest the people.

These

These menne cared moze foz the comꝫ mon people, then thei did foz theim selues, and therefoze were verie mete to bee counꝫ sailers, and nere about a greate kyng. And surely none can continue neare, and peare vnto our kyng Christ but suche, foz others that euer pzolle foz pzinate pzofite, bee hypocrites and flatterers, as was Judas.

And here we perceiue what simple Philip, and good Andzewe thinke, but here is nothyng declared of coueteous Judas counꝫ saile. No, foz Christe beyng fully purposed to doe a good deede, doeth neither aske, noz heare any counsaile of coueteous Judas: teachyng all them, which intende any goodꝫ nesse, neuer to aske, noz admitte any counꝫ saile of those, whom thei knowe to be coueꝫ teous. Foz truely, the coueteous mannes counsaile, although it seeme neuer so good, and honest, yet is it in deede nought, and deꝫ uilishe. Foz what could seeme better counꝫ saile, then that a little ointment, the swete smell of the whiche, continued but a while emong a fewe, should haue been solde foz thzee hundzeth pence, the great pzice of the whiche, bestowed emongeste many poozes, should haue doen thē good foz a great season

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The Euangelicke dooeth shewe, howe that Judas did giue this counsaile, not for that he had any care of the pooze; but because he was a theefe, and bare the bagges.

Judas pretence was wonders godlie, to sell the ointemente for a greate somme of money, to relieue the pooze with; but his purpose was deuilishe, to gette the money in his bagges, and keepe it to hymselfe. And those in Englande whiche did pretende, that besides the abolishyng of superstition, with the landes of Abbeis, Colledges, and Chauntries, the kyng should bee inriched, learnyng maintained, pouertie relieued, and the common wealth eased, and by this pretence, purposely haue inriched themselues, settyng abroade incloistered Papistes, to gette their liuynges by giuyng them pe-tions, yea, and thrustyng them into benefices, to poison the whole common wealth, for the resignation of those pentions: and so craftely conueighyng muche from the kyng, from learnyng, from pouertie, and from all the common wealthe, vnto their owne priuate vauntage: These menne counsaile seemed better then Judas counsaile was; and their couetousnes, by their

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owne deedes appereth no lesse, then Judas couetousnesse did. Well, beware, for if ye plaie Judas parte on still, and make no restitution, vntill ye goe to hangyng, ye are like to finde desperation at th'ende of your life, because ye would not by restitution amende your life. Ye noble men, and especially you of the kynges counsaile, for the reuerence of GOD, pitie of the commonwealthe, and safegarde of your selues, awaie with these Judasses, lette theim goe hange them selues: excepte peraduenture, ye thinke it fit and necessarie, that you first hange them afore thei betraie you. For vndoubtedly, he that hath the couetousnesse of Judas in his harte, he will plaie al the other partes of Judas, if he euer haue suche opportunitie as Judas had. Awaie with Judas, and learne at Andrewe, to saie vnto this kyng and his Counsaile, intendyng to relieue the multitude of his people here in Englande, learne ye noble menne, to saie: Here is a boie: Here be seruauntes, and retainers of ours, whiche haue fiue loaues, and two fishes, many benefices, some prebendes, with diuers offices: yea, and some of vs our selues haue moe offices, then we

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can discharge. Pleaseth it your maiestie, to take these into youre handes, whiche haue been kept for vs, ỹ thei now in this greate nede, maie be better disposed emõgest your people. *Quid hec inter tantos?* These be very small thynges, towardes the amendement of so many lackes, in so greate a multitude. Yow bee it these will serue, so that there maie bee moe good Parsones, good Preachers, and good Officers placed abroade in euery countrie, whiche in doyng their offices, keepyng of houses, and preachyng of Goddes worde, maie teache the ignorant, relieue the poore, punishe the faultie, and cherishe the honest, and so repaire the pale of good order, about this common wealth. For the loue of God, giue your seruauntes wages, and cause theim to restore these liuynges, whiche commyng of the sweate of the labourer, bee in deede the relief of the poore, the maintenaunce of honestitie, and the rewarde of vertue, yea, the verie pale, wall, & bulwarkes of the common wealth. The Apostles gaue all that thei had of their owne, freely vnto other: sticke not you to restore that nowe, whiche ye haue of longe tyme, vncharitably kepte from other.

Yeare

Heare what followeth: when these fishes and loaues, were brought vnto Iesus make (saieth he) the people to sitte doune. God alwaies bestoweth his benefites vpon theim, that sitte doune in quietnesse, and powreth forthe his vengeaunce vpon those that be vnpacient, vnquiet, and full of busynesse. For as appeareth in Genesis, the people gathered together in the plaine of Sanner, and made a greate vprore, buildyng a towre like rebelles against God, to get them a name. Yow be it, God destroied their handie worke, confounded their language, and scattered theim abroade.

The Scribes and the Phariseis came vnquietly, temptyng Christ, and required a signe from heauen. Christ rebuked them sharply, and shewed them no signe, but called them a frowarde, and aduouterous generation. So the people in Englande gathered together, thei would make maisteries, and bee notable fellowes: yea, the tower of their presumption, should bee builte vp vnto heauen, in despite of gentle menne and nobilitie: thei haue partly felte, and we haue right pitifully seen, how sore god was therwith offended. Now I heare saie, there

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is as yet remainyng in Englande, some stiffe necked Iewes, whiche come presumptuously temptyng God, and saie: if these our rulers bee sente of God, to take better order then other haue dooen, well then, let them beginne betyme, to giue vs a notable signe and token, for els we will not beleue trust, nor obeie them.

Well, I will tel you that thus whisper: Euen as Christe was *Positus in resurrectionem & ruinam multorum in Israel*: Set to restore, and decaie many in Israell: So bee christian rulers in euery common wealth, sette, and ordained of God, to beate doune and kepe vnder these sturdie rebelles, whiche be so euill them selues, that thei cannot thinke, that any manne dooeth intende to dooe theim good, and to raise vp, comforte, and cherishe the simple paciente people, whiche bee of a good truste towardes their rulers, knowyng that thei thē selues haue deserued no euill: Or els if thei haue dooen euill, yet by repentaunce and amendement dooe not doubte to obtaine mercie at their rulers hādes. So God hath ordeined rulers to cherishe thee, if thou be meke, quiet, and paciente, or els to punishe thee, if thou bee

vnquiet, busie, and stubborne. Learne at. ye Paule. Roma. xiii. If thou do well, to trust well of thy rulers, and if thou doe euill, not to bee without feare of their powers, for he beareth not the sworde without a cause. Take heede therefore ye rulers, for Gods sake, and pitie of people, seyng that GOD hath giuen you a sworde, to cutte of rotten cankred members, for the safegarde of the whole bodie, knowyng no canker to bee so daungerous, as rebellion in a common wealthe: If ye finde one persone infected with that canker, awaie with hym, for the safegarde of the bodie of that house. If one house be infected, awaie with it, for the safe garde of that toune. If the toune be infected awaie with it, for the safegarde of the coũtrie. Yea, if a shire or countrie bee all poisoned, awaie with it, for the pitie, and safegarde of the whole bodie of the common wealthe. So ye see, that the sharper that your sworde is, and the soner that ye strike rebellion, the more pitie shewe ye in cuttyng awaie the lesse, and sauyng the more parte, and portion of the people, beyng all of one bodie, of one realme and common wealthe. Consider that Christe went from

Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, vnto wildernesse, to drawe the Gentile people from emong the stobborne Scribes: and so christian rulers must now needes deferre the tyme, to drawe the people that be good, and trust well, frō emong this froward generation, which of presumption, looke to haue order taken as thei require, and appoinct the tyme, the place, and the thyng. Wherefore, ye that bee good quiete people, beware of these busie fellowes, and as this multitude, which ought to be your example, followed Christe into the wildernesse, so followe you Christian rulers, Goddes officers, your chief gouernours in Englāde. And as thei dio not murmure, saiyng: why shall wee sit doune here in the wildernesse, beyng an infinite nomber, where no meate is, seyng that in the Cities, where was more meate, and lesse gathering of the people, we had neuer feast giuen of hym by his Apostles?

So Isaie, doe not you grudge, and saie: why shall wee quiete our selues now, trustyng to relief, where wee see nothyng, and were nothyng at all relieued, when there was greate plentie of landes, and gooddes of Abbeis, Colledges, and Chaunteries?

Doe not murmure so vngodly, but see that there be no fault in you, and ye shall finde no lacke in God. Surely, except ye doe sitte downe quietly, ye shall soner prouoke gods vengeaunce, to your dampnation, then deserue any relief of Goddes officers, to your comfort. Sitte downe, and be quiet, for the same rulers and ministers, are ordained of GOD to feede you with plentie: whiche be commaunded of God to make you first sitte downe in order and quietnesse. Yea, and hearke all ye that bee godly rulers: There was muche grasse in the place, GOD hath prouided muche grasse for them, that loked for no Carpettes: giuyng all godly gouernours example to prouide thynges necessarie for those people, that looketh for no superfluities. But alas, here in Englande, superfluous gorgeous buildyng, is so muche prouided for riche mennes pleasures, that honest houses doe decaye, where as labouryng men ought to haue necessary lodging. It is a common custome with couetous Landlordes, to let their houslyng so decaye, that the Fermer shall bee faine, for a small reward or none at all, to giue vp his leasse, that thei takyng the grounde into their

owne handes, made tourne all to pasture.
so now old fathers, poore widowes, & yong
children, lye begging in the myrie streates.

O mercifull Lorde, what a noumber of
poore, feeble, haulte, blinde, lame, sickely,
yea, with sole vacabounde, and dissembling
caitifes myete emong them, lye and crepe,
beggyng in the myrie streates of London,
and Westminster.

Nowe speakyng in the behalfe of these
vile beggers, for as muche as I knowe, that
the vilest persone vpon yearth, is the liue-
ly Image of almightie God, I will tell the
that art a noble man, worshipfull man, an
honest wealthie man, especially if thou be
Maior, Sheriefe, Alderman, Bailie, Cone-
stable, or any suche officer, it is to thy great
shame afore the worlde, and to thy vtter
dampnation afore God, to se these beggyng
as thei vse to doe in the streates. For there
is neuer a one of these, but he lacketh ei-
ther thy Charitable almose, to relieue his
neede, or els thy due correction to punishe
his fault. A great synne, and no lesse shame
is it for hym that saieth, he is a Christian
man, to see Christe lacke thynges necessa-
rie, and to bestowe vpon the Deuill super-

spiritually. It is Christe Jesus hymselfe that in the needie dooeth suffer hunger, thirste and colde: It is the Deuill hymselfe, that in the wealthie fareth daintely, goeth gorgeously, and vseth superfluitie. Looke Matthewe the xxv. and there shall ye se plainly that it is Christe, whiche lacketh sufficient in the needie: and therefore the Deuill being contrary to Christe, contrariwise hath to muche in the wealthie.

You also that doe prouide, that your cattell doe not longer tary pinned in a Folde, where there is no grasse, why doe you suffer your owne brethren in Christ, without prouision to lye in the streates, where is muche mire? These seelie soules haue been neglected throughout all Englande, and especially in London, and Westminster: but now I truste that a good ouerseer, a godlie bishop I meane, will see that thei in these twoo cities, shall haue their neede relieued, and their faultes corrected, to the good ensample of all other tounes and cities.

Take heede that there bee muche grasse to sitte vpon, there as ye commaunde the people to sitte doune, that there bee sufficēt poulyng, and other prouisiō for the people,

there

there as ye commaunde them to bee quiete? The men satte doune aboute fiue thousandes in nomber. If thei had not been obedient to sitte doune, Christe would not haue been liberall to haue giuen them meate.

Meate was prouided for the Commons of Englande, and readie to haue been deliuered. But when thei were bidden to sitte doune in quietnesse, thei rose vp by rebellion, and haue lost all the cheare of that feaste Yet that notwithstandyng, I truste that those whiche satte quietly in deede, shall yone bee fedde with plentie, if thei sitte still vntill it maie conueniently bee disposed. If praie God thei maie, I truste thei shall. The Euangeliste saieth, that the menne satte, namyng neither women nor childre, howbe it, there was bothe women and childre, as appereth in the other Euãgelistes. And men bee here named onely, because all women and childzen did followe the example, and obeie the commaundement of menne, childzen of the fathers, and womẽ of their housbandes.

Let not therefore your wiues and childzen, when the come abroade, bee so bolde openly, as to saie, or doe any thynges of the

selues, but as thei haue example, and com-
maundemente of you. Now the multitude
placed in quietnesse.

Iesus tooke the loaues, and when he had
giuen thankes, he deuided them vnto his di-
sciples: and the disciples vnto them that were
set doune: and likewise of the fishes, so much
as thei would.

Here learne first of Christe, to take no-
thyng, bee it neuer so little, but with thank-
kes rendered therefore vnto GOD: for of
God surely thou haste receiued it, by what
messenger or meane soeuer thou came vnto
it. Then secondarily, learne at the Apo-
stles, to giue vnto other, that whiche the
lord hath giuen vnto thee, that thou maiest
truely saie with the Apostle Paule. *Quod
accepi a domino, hoc tradidi vobis.* That which
I receiued of the lord, haue I giue vnto you

Beware that ye plaie not the wicked
seruaunte, whiche kepte his talent hid, and
not deliuered vnto any vse, for then it shall
be taken from thee, and thou shalt be caste
into vtter darkenesse.

Nowe, to applie this miracle vnto this
presente tyme, the Kynges maiestie maie
learne at Christ, to take of his seruauntes,

Prebendes,

Prebendes, Benefices, Impropriations and all maner of Offices, that bee not presently occupied, and executed of a faithfull diligente officer, and after thankes giuen vnto God therefore, to deliuer them vnto his Counsaile, and Nobilitie, to be disposed emongest the people of his realme, whiche be in suche honger, and lacke of faithfull officers, and house keepers, and godlie Preachers, that thei must needes fainte, except thei be sone prouided for.

And this distribution of offices, and Benefices, your maiestie with your counsaile had nede to stande, and beholde the dealing of your Nobles, as Christe did of his Apostles. For it is not vnlike, but as there was emongest Christes Apostles, so will there bee emongest euery christian kynges counsailers, and Nobles, some Judas, whiche is to bee trusted no farther, then he can bee seen. For in sighte, Judas doeth as other of his fellowes doe: but beyng out of sight, he solde his maister. And so the moste coueteous of them all, will bee afraied to doe any thyng amisse, if you looke vpon: but if your backes bee turned, then will coueteous Judas sell dearly that, which his liberall mas-

ther giueth freely. As for example of late dayes, the kinges maiestie that heade is, did giue a Benefice to be appropriate vnto the Vniuersitie of Cambridge: *In liberam et puram eleemosinam*. As free and pure almose. Howbeeit, his handes were so vnpure, whiche should haue deliuered it, that he received fiue hundreth pounde of the Vniuersitie for it. Whether that this fiue hundreth pounde, wer conueighed to the kynges behoofe, priuely for that almese, which by plaine writyng was giuen freely, or els putte into some Judas pouche, I would it were knowen. For now, by suche charitable almose, the kyng is slaundered, the Parishe vndoen, and the vniuersitie in worse case then it was afore. Pleaseth it youre maiestie, with your honourable counsaile, for the reuerence of GOD, the pitie of the poore, and the Godly zeale that ye haue to good learnyng, heare what hath been done in your tyme.

Your maiestie hath had giuen, and receiued by Acte of Parliamente, Colledges, Chauntries, and Guildes, for many good considerations, and especially as appereth in the same acte, for erectyng of Grammer

Schooles,

Schooles, to the education of youth, in ver-
tue and godlineſſe, to the further augmen-
tyng of the Vniuerſities, and better proui-
ſion for the poore and needie. But now, ma-
ny Grammer Schooles, and muche charit-
table prouiſion for the poore, be taken, ſolde,
and made awaie, to the greate ſlaunder of
you, and your lawes, to the vtter diſcom-
fort of the poore, to the greuous offence of
the people, to the moſte miſerable drow-
uyng of youthe in ignorance, and for de-
caie of the Vniuerſities.

There was in the North countrie, emō-
geſt the rude people in knowledge (whiche
bee moſte readie to ſpende their liues and
goodes in the ſeruyng the kyng, at the bur-
nyng of a Beacon) there was a Grammer
Schoole founded, hauyng in the Vniuerſi-
tie of Cambridge, of the ſame foundation,
eight ſcholerſhippes, two fellowſhippes,
euer replenished with the ſcholers of that
Schoole, whiche Schoole is now ſolde, de-
caied, and loſte. So there bee of like ſorte
handled: But I recite this onely, becauſe I
knowe, that the ſale of it was once ſtaied of
Charitie, and yet afterwardes brought to
paſſe by hyrde, as I heard ſaie, and beleue

it,

it, bicause that it is onely bribry, that custo-
mably ouercommeth Charitie.

For Goddes sake, you that be in auctho-
ritie, loke vpon it. For if ye winke, at suche
matters, GOD will scoule, that is to saie,
looke with anger vppon you. Thinke not
that I do burden you with more, then that
whiche God by his ordinaunce, not with-
out your willes and consentes, hath char-
ged you withall. For by whose faulte and
negligence so euer it was, that thynges a-
fore tyme haue been vncharitably abused,
surely it is your charge, whiche bee now in
aucthoritie, to se at this time all suche thin-
ges, as yet remaine out of order, righteous-
ly, spedely, and charitably redressed. And as
I doe perceiue, that the abuse of these thin-
ges afore tyme, hath offended God, trou-
bled the common wealthe, and broughte
some men towardes shame, and confusion:
So doe I wishe, praie, and trust, that now
the redresse of thesame, maie be to Goddes
pleasure, the peoples comforte, and to the
honour, and establishment of them that be
in moste high aucthoritie.

Heare therfore, and I will tell you more
there were in some tounes sixe, some eight

and some a dosen kine, giuen vnto a stocke
for the relief of the poore, and vsed in such
wise, that the poore strangers, which could
make any prouisiõ for foder, had the milke
for a very small hire, and then the nombre
of the stocke reserued, all maner of vailes
besides, bothe the hire of the milke, and the
prices of the yong beales, and old fatte wa-
res, was disposed to the relief of the poore,
these be also solde, taken, and made awaie.
The kyng heareth the slaunder, the poore
feeleth the lacke, but who hath the profite
of such thynges, I can not tell: but well I
wot, and all the worlde seeth, that the acte
of Parliamente, made by the kynges Ma-
iestie, and his lordes, and Commons of the
Parliament, for the mainteinaunce of lear
nyng, and relefe of the poore, hath serued
some, as a moste fitte instruiment to robbe
learnyng, and to spoile the poore.

If you that now bee in authoritie, doo
not looke vppon suche thynges to redresse
them, God will looke vpon you, to reuenge
theim. Here haue I rehearsed theim, that
the kynges maiestie, with you of his coun-
saile maie learne, not onely by the doctrine
and examples of scripture, but also by expe-

rience

rince in his owne lande, to see, and consider how his benefites, put into the handes of his nobles and officers, be disposed and bested emongest his inferiour people.

For if landed menne and officers, by keping of houses, and doyng of their duties in their countries, doe bestowe emong the people, all that they haue receiued of God, by the Kynges gifte, their fathers inheritaunce, or other wayes: then shall God giue suche encrease, that euery man shall haue enough.

As Salomon, the. xj. of the Prouerbes testifieth: *Alij diuidunt propria, & ditiores fiunt: alij rapiunt non sua, & semper in egestate sunt:* Some dispose and giue their owne, and become richer and richer: some doe raueine and spoile that, whiche is not their owne, and bee euer in lacke and neede. As ye see in daiely experience, those that doe their owne duelies, in executyng their offices, and bestowe their owne goodes in kepyng good houses, haue euer suche plentie, that all other menne maruaile, from whence God sendeth it. And those that doe no duelies, nor kepe no houses, but bribe in their offices, and polle their Tenauntes, take so

muche,

muche, and haue so lyttle, that all menne wonder, how the deuill the waste it.

Nothyng is more true then the Gospell. *Date, & dabitur vobis.* Giue, and it shalbe giuen vnto you. Giue plentifully vnto other, and God will giue more plentie vnto you. For God will alwaies be afore hande, in giuyng good giftes. For as appereth in this Gospell, when the Apostles had giuen vnto the people, so muche good meate as they desired, then saieth the Euangelist.

When they were filled, Iesus saieth to his disciples: Gather vp the broken meates that remaine, so that nothyng be lost. They therefore gathered, and filled twelue baskettes full with the broken meates, remainyng of that, whiche they had eaten.

Where they gaue but fiue loaues, and two Fishes: and there was giuen vnto them, twelue baskettes full of meates,

The widdow of Sarepta gaue but one handfull of flower, and a little oile vnto Elias, & had giuen vnto her againe, so muche as serued her and her sonne, all the tyme of the greate drought. iij. Regn. xvij. Learne therefore, that courteous bribrie and extorsion hath neuer inough: and Charitable liberalitie,

beralitie, euer hath plentie.

Here also maie riche men learne, when and howe to fill their store houses. Surely, euen as the Apostles did fill their Basket-tes, when the people had inough, then by gatheryng vp that, whiche els should bee loste. So did Josephe in Egipte, suffer no corne to be loste in the yeres of plentie, but stored it vp in Barnes, to reliene the people with, in the tyme of dearth: Not as coueteous Carles doe here in Englande, forstall the markettes, and buye corne at all tymes, to beginne and increase a dearth.

Blessed bee thei that sell, to make good cheape: and cursed bee thei that buye, to make it deare. For Salomon saith. Pro. xi. *Qui abscondit frumenta, maledicetur in populis: benedictio autem super caput vendentiũ*. He that hideth vp corne, shall bee cursed emongest the people: But blessyng be vpon their heades, that sell.

Nowe, to teache Christian rulers their dueties, in the example of Christes Apostles: marke how the Apostles did first minister vnto the people, and then gathered vp for theim selues, teachyng thereby all Christian ministers, Landlordes, officers,

and

and rulers, firste to ministrer vnto the people, euery one the duetie of his owne vocation, afore thei gather of the people, rentes, tithes, or fees, by the name and authoritie of that vocation. *Qui non laborat*, saieth S. Paule, *non manducet*: He that dooeth not labour, should not eate. He that dooeth no worke, should take no wages: he that doeth no dueties, should take no fees. Alas, this is Goddes woorde, written in his will and Testamente, sealed with Christes bloud, and yet the customes, and lawes of Englande be cleane contrary. For it hath beene customablye vsed, yea, and by lawes commaunded, to paie wages, tithes, and fees, although no labour, no office, no duetie bee doen. Yea, although he bee not a labourer, a pastour, or an officer in deede, but onely by a pretẽced name, vnto whom these for the moste parte be paied.

For he that hath the properties, and vseth the trades of a false thiefe, and cruell murtherer, can neuer bee a faithfull officer in deede, although he bee so named by his owne flatterie, in the Patrons presentation, in the Bishoppes institution, yea, and in the Kynges Patente, sealed with the

B.j. broade

broade Seale. I had nede to take heede, howe that I speake openly againste any thyng, in any mannes Patent, sealed with the kynges greate seale: Muche more nede had you to take heede, how that ye doe any thing, expressedly against Goddes will and Testament, sealed with Christes precious blonde. It is expressedly against Gods Testamente, to clothe a Wolfe in a Lambes skinne: to call a thief, an officer, and a cruell murtherer, a charitable pastour: so cal euill by the name of good: and good by the name of euill. Esaie. v. *Ve qui dicitis malum bonum.* Wo bee to you that call euill good. To you I saie, whiche not onely by saiynges, but also in writinges, doe name and call thieues, murtherers, and Wolfes, that be euill, by the names of officers, Pastours, and Lambes, whiche be good. I doe not onely meane Parsones, Prebendaries, and other benefised men, but also all maner officers, which haue wages, Fees, or liuynges, because you giue theim suche names, and not for that thei doe suche dueties.

These bee all Wolfes, and the names, and titles that you giue them, be nothyng els but shepe skinnes. Some saie, thei will

take better heede hereafter, but that whiche is now paste, can not now bee called backe, and amended. Yea, and it were greate pitie, seyng that thei haue paied the firste fruites, vnto the kynges maiestie, and no smal reward vnto other menne, perchaunce bought their offices dearely, now to putte theim out of those liuynges, with the losse of all those charges, whiche thei haue bestowed in rewardes, and other wates, to get suche liuynges.

Wo, wo, wo vnto you hypocrites, that stumble at a strawe, and leape ouer a block that straine out a Gnatte, and swallowe vp a Camell, that pitie more the losse of mennes byrdie, whiche was giuen to corrupte some men, then the treadyng vnder foote of Christes bloud, whiche was shead, to saue all men, that doe imagine it pitie to driue the thieues, murtherers, and Wolfes, from emongest the Lambes of God, redemed with Christes precious blonde, and committed vnto your gouernaunce and kepyng.

As GOD shall helpe me, I speake with feare, pitie, and reuerence: if you doe not rather pulle the sheepes skinnes, ouer the

Wolfes eares, and hang their carraſes vp-
pon the pales, then ſuffer them to continue
ſtill, God will plucke you doune with ſome
ſodaine miſchief, rather then maintaine, or
ſuffer you in ſo high authoritie, to vſe ſuch
vncharitable, vngodly, and cruell pitie. You
knowe, that ſome of theim haue boughte
their benefices, haue bought their offices,
then muſte ye needes knowe, that either
Chriſt is a lyer, or els that thei be entered
in as thieues, to ſpoile, murther, and to de-
ſtroie.

If you ſuffer thieues, murtherers, and
Wolfes to take their pleaſures emongeſt
Goddes Lambes, I tell you plaine, GOD
will not longe ſuffer you to bee the heade
Shepherdes, and gouernours, and feeders
of his Lambes.

And take heede you people, that on the
other ſide, ye run not into an vntollerable
ſtubbernelle, denying your rentes, your ti-
thes, or other dueties: for the ſcripture for-
bidden you vtterly, to deny, or withdrawe
any thyng from theim: thou art commaun-
ded, if he contende to take thy cloke, to giue
hym alſo thy coate. What ſoeuer is aſked,
rather giue more, then by denying of that,

not

not to shewe thy self to bee an innocente shepe, that giueth his fleese, but a noisome Goate, that striketh with the hoorne. You are alwaies bounden to giue the fleese. It is the Magistrates duetie, to consider and note, whether thei bee theeues or Shepherdes, Dogges, or Wolfes, that taketh the fleese. Meddle not with other mennes duelties, for if you doo, surely ye shall finde no remedie, but prouoke vntollerable vengeaunce.

Now to turne to our particuler purpose, lette all them that doe receiue offices, landes, power, or authoritie from God, by the kynges gifte, or by other meanes. First beestowe, and dispose the duelties of those thinges faithfully emongeste the people, afore thei gather vp to themselues the reuenues and commodities of thesame, from the people. And then, when as no manne can come to meate, but by doyng of labour, or none to receiuyng of fees, but by doyng of duelties, surely euery man shall haue as muche as he deserueth, and no manne shall lacke, that whiche he needeth.

For he, that by doyng of greate duelties, deserueth the moste, by attainyng the fees

and rewardes, due for the same duetie, shall haue the beste. And he that is in nede, hauyng no truste to gette any thing by idlenesse, crafte, or flatterie, shalbe compelled to vse that labour, and honeste exercise, whiche shall relieue his neede sufficiently. Yea, by this meane no manne shall spende his tyme in idlenesse, nor vse any labour or diligence, without due recompence. For, neede shall driue all menne from slothfull idlenesse, vnto labour and diligence: and where as no labour nor diligence, lacketh his iuste reward, there euery labouryng, and diligente manne, shall haue sufficiente plentie: So ye see how this doeth consequētly ensue, that euery man shall haue sufficient enough and plentie, where as menne doe firste dispose, minister, and giue accordyng to their duelies, and afterwardes receiue, keepe, and saue that, whiche GOD doeth sende as a reward, increased and augmented, for doyng of their duelies.

So did the Apostles, after the faithfull diligente dispoſyng of the fiue loaues, and two fishes receiue, and keepe their reward wonderfully augmented, to repleniſhe and fill twelue hallettes. So God graunt, that

all Officers in Englande, maie with suche faithfull diligence doe their duetie, that it maie please God to giue to all the people, sufficient inough, and vnto euery minister, the basket te of his honest desire, heaped vp by the brimme.

The men therefore, seyng what a signe Iesus had doen, saied that this is the Prophette, whiche commeth into the worlde. This is euen he whom Moises, the Lawe, and the Prophettes doe teache, to bee the sullie, and onely sufficiente Sauiour of the worlde. Moises saiyng, in the eightene of Deuteronomie. A Prophete of thy nation, and of thy brethren, like vnto me, shall the Lorde thy GOD raise vp vnto thee, hym shalte thou heare. The Lawe, as a tutour, leadeth and bryngeth all men to this Sauiour, to receiue of hym that perfectiō, which the lawe it selfe lacketh. The Prophetes did tell longe afore of this Sauiour, whiche is now comen in our tyme, after their dales. This was the peoples confession of Christ, after that thei were by so greate a miracle, so plentifully fedde, Christe ofte afore had wroughte wonderfull miracles, disputed learnedly, and preached plainly: but by all

these meanes, did he not so much perswade the people, and winne their hartes, as by this one miracle, in fedyng and cherishyng the people. Yea, and who so euer listeth to marke throughout all Englande, he shall see that a meane learned persone, kéepyng an house in his Parishe, and beyng of godly conuersation, shall perswade, and teach mo of his Parishoners, with communication at one meale, then the beste learned doctor of diuinitie kepyng no house, can perswade or teache in his Parishe, by Preachyng a dosen solempne Sermons.

Likewise the gentle manne that kepeth a good house in his countrey, shalbée in better credite with the people, for his liberalitie, then the beste Orator, or Lawier in Englande, for all his eloquence. I dooe not praise those men, whiche bribe and poll all the yere, to kéepe riote in their houses, for a fortnighte, a monethe, or a quarter of a yere: But those I see beloued, trusted, and obeied, that accordyng to their habilitie, kepe good houses continually.

And the chiefe cause, why the Commons dooe not loue, truste, nor obeie the gentlemenne, and officers, is, because the gentle

men,

menne and officers, builde many faire hou-
ses, and kéepe selve good houses, haue plen-
tie of eloquence to tell faire tales, but bse
little faithfull diligence, in dooyng of their
duelies. Wherefore, sende forth, and place
in euery Countrie godlie Preachers, well
disposed Parsones, and faithfull diligente
officers, of al sortes. Yea, but where shoulde
we now finde liuynges for all those?

Forsothe I doe tell you: Out, and awaie
with the wilie Fores, the false flatteryng
Thieues, and the rauenyng Wolues, and
then see how many loaues, how many Of-
fices, Prebendes, and Benefices ye finde
voide, how many you haue emongest your
selues, that youre Boie carieth, that youre
Chapeleines, your Seruauntes, and your
houshoide Officers haue, and let all these
be brought forthe: and although at the first
sight, thei shall seeme to little, and fewe to
serue so greate a Realme, with so many
Shires, beyng all runne now out of Ciuill
order, into rude wildernesse. Yet, after e-
quall diuidyng, and faithfull diligent mini-
steryng of those loaues, and fishes, of these
Prebendes, Parsonages, and all kinde of
Offices emongest the people, GOD of his

goodnesse shall giue suche increase vnto the people, hauyng thereby sufficiente plentie of Christes holie woorde, of good ciuill order, and of charitable relief, that there shall be remainyng so muche Tithes, Offryng, Rentes, Fees, and Rewardes, as will fill the twelue Basketes of the Apostles, I meane the Barnes, the houses, and purses of all faithfull diligente Ministers, and Officers. Then shall this one acte perswade, and allure the hartes of all Englishemen, more then all that euer was doen afore: for when thei shall see, that by this Kyng, and this Counsaile, the wilie Fore of Superstition, is vtterly banished, the false thiefe of Flatterie apprehended, and taken, and the cruell Wolfe of couetousnesse slaine, and hanged vp by the heeles, so that the Preachers, the Parsones, the Officers and all maner of Pastours, restored to their places, doo feede, cherishe, and keepe their flockes, whiche were afore pilled, spoiled, and deuoured: then shall thei of hartie courage, with one mynde, and one voice confesse, and acknowledge, that this is a Kyng sent from God, indued with the wisedome of Salomon, and the faithfull diligente

Kyndnesse of Dauid his father, nowe guided by godlie Counsaile, to bryng out of miserie, and prospere in wealthe, bs the people of this Realme. *Dixit Dominus.* The Lord hath spoken it. GOD graunte you grace to doe it, with thankes and praise to hym for euer.

BRITISH
11 JU 1901
MUSEUM

A Sermon

preached at Paules crosse the .xiiii. daie of December, by Thomas Leuer.

Anno Domini.

1550.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Vnto the right honourable Lordes, and others of the Kynges Maiestie his priuie Counsaile, Thomas Leauer wisheth increase of grace, and Godlie honour.

MERCIE, grace, and peace from God the father almightie, vnto your honours, with my moste humble and reuerēt commendations.

The enemie of GOD and manne, alwaies seekyng like a roaryng Lion, whom he maie deuoure, is muche at all tymes, but then especiallie to be taken heede vnto, when as he himself beyng transformed into the Aungell of light, dooeth cloke the ministers of his mischief, in a pretensed shewe of godlinesse and vertue, so that thereby thei bee suffered of all men, and maintained of many menne, to worke and bring vnto passe, a diuilishe disordes, and shamefull dishonestie in a Christian common wealthe.

Wherefore, seyng that in this realme, Preachers, Officers, Marchauntes, craftes menne, Labourers, and suche like, bee displaced of their roumes, and disappointed of their liuinges by those, which through a pretēsed name and outward apperance, seme to be necessarie, and profitable ministers in a cōmon wealthe (howbeit in their owne doynges maie bee euidentlie tried, and knowen for to be spoilers, and disturbers of any cōmon wealth) surelie you of the Kynges most honourable counsaile, beyng

beyng the chiefe Magistrates, and rulers in this realme, had neede to beware, circumspecte, and diligente, leste that Sathan banishyng all faithfull Christians, whiche should and would prouide, to helpe one an other, doue fill this Realme full of craftie flatterers, whiche can and will deceiue, begile, and spoile one an other.

Truely there be no men more against Christ then those, whiche by profession of Christian Religion, and bearyng of a Christian name, doue robbe Christe of his honor, & Christes ministers of their liuynges: nor none more perilous enemies vnto the Kynges maiestie, and vnto this Realme, then those whiche haue the names of Englishemen, and the Kynges subiectes, with the conditions and maners of enemies, and traitours.

Moste gracious good Lordes and maisters, for your reuerēt loue towardes God, and the Kyng, for your charitable pitie of miserable spoiled people, and for the necessarie regard of your owne honoures, and the state of this realme, se, and consider how that ambicious coueteous men, doue buie and sell, take and abuse Parsonages, Prebendes, Offices, Fees, Marchaundise, Fermes, landes, and goods, so that prowling for them selues, thei be neither afraied, nor ashamed to spoile this Realme of Preachyng of Goddes Gospell, of iustice and equitie, of cheape and plentie, and of euerie thing that should saue kepe, or profite a common wealthe.

Wherefore moste gracious good Lordes, and maisters, for the tender mercies of God in our Sauiour Iesus Christe, take heede that neither seruaunt, nor frende, retainer, nor your selues doe deceiue you with flatterie.

For seyng that ambicious coueteous men doe take, kepe, and enioie the roumes, and liuinges of euery ma-

nes

reuocation, bothe you and we be in faire more daun-
ger, then if blockehouses and bulwarkes made, & kepte
of the Kynges faithfull subiectes, for the sauegarde of
this realme, were taken, and abused of suche Scottes, or
Frenchemen, as makyng spoile for their owne profite,
would not spare to destroie this realme.

There is verie many roumes and liuynges, belon-
gyng bothe vnto the Ecclesiasticall ministerie, and also
vnto ciuil policie, in the which be no faithful subiectes,
godlie diligent ministers, and officers, whiche by doo-
yng of their dueties, dooe saue, keepe, and comforte the
people: but couetecus Idolatours, whiche neglectyng
their dueties, and taking cõmodities, do disorder, spoile,
and destroie the people.

Surely if there bee any men, that goe about to per-
swade the Kynges maiestie, or you of his honourable
Counsaile, that thinges in this realme, for the moste part
be honourablie, godlie, or charitablie reformed, thei be
but flatterers.

For Papistrie is not banished out of Englande by
pure religion, but ouer runne, suppressed, and kept vn-
der within this realme, by couetecus ambition. Papi-
strie abused many thinges, couetecusnesse hath destro-
yed more: Papistrie is superstition couetecusnes is ido-
latrie. Papistrie afore tyme did obscure the Kynges ho-
nour, and abuse the wealthe of this realme, couetecus-
nesse at this tyme doeth more abuse, and decaie theim
bothe, making the King bare, the people poore, and the
realme miserable.

The Kynges procedynges to bee reade in his lawes,
statutes, and Iniunctions bee good, and godlie, but to
bee seen and knowen in the deedes, and practises of his

officers, seruauntes, and subiectes, bee vngodlie, shamefull, wicked. For in their doynges appeareth no retournyng from euill vnto good, by a godlie reformation: but a procedyng from euill vnto worse, by an vnchartable spoile, and deuillishe destruction.

Landes and gooddes be spoiled: prouision made for learning and powertie, is destroied. Ye knowe in whose handes this riche spoile remaineth, then can ye not bee ignoraunt, by whose meanes the wealth of this realme is spoiled and decaied.

If ye will haue a good reformation effectuouslie to procede, trust not the seruauntes of Mammon, enemies vnto God, & traitours vnto the king, and spoilers of the people, with the settyng forth of your godlie lawes, statutes, and ordinaunces, whiche be moste contrary vnto their couetous mindes, and wicked deedes.

Their mindes are alwaies euill, and their deedes be well knowen, when as you giue freely, or suffer theim by bribrie to buie vnto theim selues auctheritie: for thē beyng trusted to make better prouision for the poore, to erecte mo Grammer Schooles, to increase and augmente the Vniuersities, and to see the people taughte lowynglie, to reuerence, serue, and obeie God, the Kyng, and you: thei take prouision from the poore, thei sell awaie Grammer Schooles, thei decaie the Vniuersities, and thei vse suche practises, as maketh God to be vnknowen, the Kyng disobeied, and you suspected, hated, and enuied of the people.

Take these false flatterers, whiche haue inriched thē selues, makyng the Kyng bare, and the people poore, restore their landes and gooddes vnto the Kyng, their toumes and offices vnto faithfull and true officers and

ministers:

ministers: and then shall the Kyng bee inriched, the realme vnspoiled, and the people deliuered from miserable captiuitie, vnder cruell extortioners, vnto an honeste libertie vnder godlie gouernours, whiche shall so dispose the hartes and mindes of all people, that they willinglie shall bee readie, not onelie to serue the markettes with corne, but also to serue God, and the Kyng with landes and goodes, bodies and liues, when, and where so euer you shall commaunde it.

Marualle not though a faithfull harte, with humble obedience, and reuerente loue towardes the Kynges maiestie, and you of his honourable godlie Counsaile, doe burste and put forthe a lamentable complainte, of greeuous sorowe conceiued, in seing the Kyng shamefullie begiled, you sore dishonoured, and the wealth of this realme vtterlie spoiled.

For men doe buie offices vnto them selues, and landes from the King: and by the onely spoile that is made in common offices, and vpon the Kynges landes, both these bargaines bee paied for, and furthermore, all suche bargainers wonderfully inriched.

O mercifull Lorde, what a grief is it vnto a faithfull harte, hauyng iuste occasion to suspecte, that you lacke faithefull Counsaile, to aduertise you of the gracious woorkyng of the Lorde beyng GOD, and of the fraile faultes of your selues beeyng men, in all your doynges: for Goddes grace worlyng in you, causeth you to doe honourable, and godlie seruice to God, the Kyng, and the Common wealthe, when as ye cause an vngodlie Bishoppe to bee deposed. And yet shall God, the Kyng, and the people be greuouslie offended, and your honour and soules so are indaungered, if a Bishoppes landes, or

goodde be denided emongest you that be godlie magistrates, to punishe euill doers, as Christes coate was deuided emongest wicked soldiours, whiche did cruelly torment a righteous persone.

Alas moste gracious reuerente Lordes, and maisters if ye vse the seruice, or heare th'aduise of false craftie flatterers, ye shall therewith be so blinded, that ye can neither perceiue by your selues, nor beleue when as ye bee plainlie, and faithfullie tolde, that many of your owne doynges, comming of mannes frailtie, doe tende muche vnto the displeasure of GOD, dishonour of the Kyng, and discredite of your selues, beyng moste contrarie to that reuerent zeale, and faithfull loue towardes God, the king, and the common wealth, whiche zeale, and loue, GOD of his goodnesse, hath grafted in your hartes, and the deuill by manues fraile deedes couered in silence, or coloured with praise of flatterers, laboureth to deface, peruerte, and destroie.

As GOD whiche searcheth the secretes of mannes harte, doeth beare me recorde, I doe suppose, and thinke that you dooe so louinglie dreade GOD, reuerence the kyng, and regarde this realme, and your owne honors, that being charged with the ouersighte, and prouision of Castelles, Holdes, and Fortes, made and kepte for the safegarde of this realme, ye could not willinglie bee hired to sell one of theim, vnto the kinges enemies, for all the threasures in the worlde. And yet beyng craftely deceiued with flatterie, ye vse a daungerous practise in verie many of them.

For thete bee some of theim selenderly assaulted at certaine times of feeble enemies: and other continuallie besieged, either with open force, or craftie conueighaunce,

armee, of fearce, cruell, and perilous enemies. And now crafty flatterers, whiche haue once serued for their wages in time, and place of the sciender assaulte, doe afterwardes require, and perswade you for that seruice, to giue them the spoile of other holdes, remaining continuallie in more daunger. Truelie Frenche menne and Scottes bee but feble enemies, and yet at certaine times doe slenderlie assault Castelles, Towers, and suche maner of holdes: The deuill seeking like a roaring Lion, whom he maie deuoure, nighte and daie, Winter and Sommer, with a wonderfull sorte of wicked spirites, dooeth euer beseige Bishoprickes, Shires, Tounes, and Parishes.

If these places bee not well furnished, with stoute, and true soldiours of bothe the sortes (I meane bothe officers in Ciuill policie, and also Prelates, in Ecclesiasticall ministerie) or if those soldiours bee vnprouided of necessarie liuinges, and due wages, then muste the people nedes perishe, and bee destroied for their owne sinnes, and the bloud of their bodies and soules, required at your handes, whiche be charged and trusted of both God, and the king, to prouide soldiours to those places, and also wages and liuinges, to maintaine those soldiours continuallie.

How be it many Parsonages, Benefices, Offices, and Fees be solde vnto couetous bribers for monie, whiche seke nothing but the vauntage extortion, robbrie, and spoile, and fewe of them be freelie giuen vnto faithfull ministers, and officers for their worthinesse, whiche could, and would by diligent doing of their duetie, gouerne, instructe, and cherishe Goddes people, the kinges subiectes.

And therefore nowe, the moſte parte of men lacking teachers, and rulers, doe without griefe of conſcience, or feare of puniſhement, abuſe euery thing vnto the ruine and deſtruction, whiche GOD hath ordeined, vnto the vpholding, and increaſe of a chriſten common wealth.

As for example, nowe buiyng and ſelling is not vſed, as a prouiſion for good cheape, & great plentie, but made the moſte occaſion of dearth, and ſcarcitie. Wealth and witte bee not rightlie vſed, vnto a common comfortable profite, but ſhamefullie abuſed vnto a wicked priuate gaine. Manie offices with auctoritie, bee not duelie diſpoſed vnto faithfull worthie menne, nor to doe good vnto other, but vnlawfullie bought, and ſold emongeſt couetous, ambicious men, to get gaines vnto thē ſelues. So this realme is ſpoiled, the king is made bare, and his faithfull true ſubiectes, be many of theim verie poore: but craftie deceiuers, couetous Extortioners, bribing officers, and ſuche falſe flatterers be wonderous riche and wealthie.

Theſe flatterers bee wonders perilous fellowes, hauing two faces vnder one hoode. For thei beare a face and ſhewe towardes the people, as though by commiſſion, and commaundemente from you, there muſt bee more required, and taken of the people, then euer you did meane or thinke: And towardes you thei ſhewe another face, ſeming that ſo muche can not bee founde in any mennes handes, as muſt nedes bee procured: but that therefore the kinges landes muſte nedes bee ſolde, whiche thei are readie to buie for their owne auauntage, with thoſe goodes whiche thei them ſelues haue in their owne handes, or rather with the ſpoile, whiche thei intende to make vpon thoſe landes. Theſe ſubiec-

tes

ers that bee not ashamed to procure vnto theim selues suche riches, that thei maie be buiers, & vnto their liege lorde and king suche nede, that he must be a seller of his landes. These bee in deede seruauntes vnto Mammon, enemies vnto God, traitours vnto the king, and disturbers of a common wealthe, tourning all your godlie, wise, and charitable deuices for necessarie prouision, vnto deuilishe deceiptes, for to cause and maintain vndauitable spoiles. And suredlie when as occasions doe serue for anie men, to practise their pleasures, manie men of all sortes, and of the lowest sorte, the moste parte doe shewe them selues the worst infected with this impietie, treason, and rebellion, the greuousnesse and daunger of the whiche, with occasions and meanes, how to auoide the same, I preaching at Paules crosse the fowrtene daie of December laste paste, did there openlie declare vnto mine audience. And as I did then preache that Sermon, as an exhortation to moue the people, by the acknowledging, lamenting, and amending their owne faultes, to deserue, and receiue the pardon of mercie offered vnto them, of bothe God, and the king, in this lōg pacient sufferaunce, so doe I now here offer vnto your honours, that same Sermon, as an earnest complainte, to procure of you that be Gods officers, spedelie correction for them that refuse to heare, regarde, and obeie Goddes woorde.

Be not discouraged in this matter, with your owne frailtie being greate, or with the number of offendours being many. For it is not your worthinesse, but Goddes grace, that hath placed you in high authoritie, and in the same authoritie, not your owne powers and policie, but the might and wisedome of God, shal so streng-

then and confirme you, that if ye will bee diligente, ye shall be made able to deliuer Goddes people, the Kynges subiectes, out of the handes of suche as be Goddes, and the kinges enemies.

I beseeche the almightie God indue you with grace, that beginning with our selues, ye maie spedelie procede vnto the necessarie, and godlie correction of other mennes faultes, so that ye maie bee established in your roumes, and increased in honour, to serue God & the king, prouiding for his Realme in holinesse and righteousnes all the dayes of your liues.

By me humble subiecte, and faithfull obedient vnto your honours.

Thomas Leauer.

¶ The grace of the holie ghoste proceadyng from God the father, by the intercession and meane of Iesu Christe, so prepare your hartes, and open my mouthe, that I maie declare, and shewe, and that you maie heare, vnderstande, remẽber, and practise in your liuyng, his liuely woorde, as maie bee moste to his honour and glorie, and to your soules healthe and comforte.

YOu Citizeins of London, and all other that be here present, marke, note, & remember what ye heare of me this day: for if I shall saie, or speake any thyng that is euill, you muste beare recorde against me of that euill. But if I doe preache well and truely, then you shall vnderstande, and knowe your selues to be in greate daunger of hainous treason towardes God, and the kynges maiestie of this realme, whiche bee by you spoiled, and robbed: Gods of his glorie, the kyng of honour, and the realme of his wealthe. Now be it the mercifull goodnesse, of bothe God and the kyng, hath sent me hither this daie, to proclaime a generall pardon, inough thereby to trie out,

and saue theim that haue offended by simple ignoraunce, because the force of their mightie power is nowe readie, and commyng vtterly to destroie all other, that cōtinue in wilfull stubbernesse, and rebellious treason. Wherefore, afore the reading of my commission, I will declare that pæce of scripture, whiche appointed to be reade in the Churche as this daie, will certifie you, that God by his scriptures, hath shewed the king, who be his faithfull seruauntes, and who bee his enemies. This scripture is writen in the fowerth Chapiter of the firste Epistle of saincte Paule vnto the Corinthians. *Sic nos estimet homo vt ministros Christi, & dispensatores mysteriorum dei. &c.*

Filioli mei quos iterum parturio. Albeeit I vse not scrupulously the same termes, yet conueniently followyng the manee, and phrase of Scripture, I saie vnto you as S. Paule writeth vnto the Galathians: My deare children, of whom I trauell in birthe againe, vntill Christe be facioned in you, I would I nowe beeyng with you, mighte chaunge my voice, whiche heretofore I haue vsed: declaryng by the worde of God, that you here in Englande, whiche will re-

ceiue no mercie, shall feele sore vengeaunce, whiche will not be saued, shalbe destreied. This voice vsed here afore of me, nowe would I fain chaunge. For now ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν I doubt I am paste hope, and almost in vtter dispaire of you. Tell me, you that through coueteousnesse, desire of richesse, and wealthe of this worlde. Haue ye not heard how that he, which would be a frend vnto the worlde, is made an enemie vnto God, doeth not Paule teache, that coueteousnesse is the roote of all euill? Is it not written, that coueteousnesse is Idolatrie? Haue ye not read in the Prophet Ezechiel, how that he whiche keepeth his Idolles, meanyng coueteousnesse in his hatte, and commeth to heare Godes woorde, dooeth thereby preuolle Gods vengeaunce to his vtter destructiō. Paule saieth and testifieth that euery manne, whiche is circumcised, hath no profite by Christ, is gone quite frō Christe, is fallen from grace. I saie, and testifie vnto you in the woorde of the Lorde, that so many of you as bee coueteous, haue no profite by the preaching of Gods word, the ministration of his Sacramentes, and the settyng forthe of pure religion, within

the realme: no, ye bee cleane tourned from God, framyng your selues vnto the fashion of this worlde, ye can bryng for the no good fruictes of charitable workes, nourishyng the rote of all euill in your hartes, ye must nedes prouoke the wrathe and indignation of God, to your vtter destruction, when as ye kepe the Idoll of couetousnesse still in your myndes, to be honoured, and serued in all your doynges, and yet pretende a zeale, and loue vnto the Religion of Christe, in your woordes and sayynges. I would faine haue had iust occasion to haue spoken at this tyme, such thynges as might haue been comfortable, and pleasaūt for you to heare. But I must nedes shewe the causes of Goddes wrathe, and indignation kindeled against vs, least that those plages should be ascribed vnto the woorde, and Religion of Christe, set forthe amongest vs, whiche be procured by the wickednesse of theim, that seruyng couetous Mammon, haue forsaken, offended, and slaundered both the Christ and Christes woorde, and religion. No man can serue two maisters, why then doo ye pretēd, that ye the seruauntes of Christ, seyng that ye will not forsake, the seruice

of

of wicked Mammon: If ye bee ashamed to be named, and afraied to continue the wicked seruauntes of wicked Mammon, now shewe and proue by your ordinarie calling, faithfull dealyng, and godlie iudgement, accordyng to this example of Paule, plainlie painteth, and setteth forthe in this Epistle vnto the Corinthians, that ye bee Christes ministers, the seruauntes and disposers of Gods misteries and threasures: for Paule sheweth himself, as a god example of Christes seruauntes, saith: *Sic nos existimet homo, vt ministros Christi. &c.* So let a man esteme vs, as the ministers of Christe, and the disposers of the secretes of God. No man can come vnto Christe Iesu to be his minister, except he be drawen of the father. The father draweth not by force violently, theim that be stubborne and froward, but by loue them that be gentle, and come willynglie. For when the father sheweth in Christe, forgiuenesse of synnes, grace of amendemente, iustification, and euerlastyng life, then those that make faste theim selues, with the band of loue, by desire of the same, be drawen vnto Christe. As contrarywise when the deuill sheweth in fleshely lustes,

and

and worldlie vanities, many voluptuous pleasures, then they that there with bee intangled and delited, be drawen of the temptour awaie from Christe. Take heede therefore, howe ye haue entered into religion, professed Christ, and receiued the Gospell. For if ye be drawen by loue of mercy, grace, and righteousnesse, ye come vnto Christe. But by the desire of riches, wealth, and voluptuousnesse, men bee drawen, and tised awaie from Christe.

Ye therefore, that by the profession of Christ, the zeale of his woorde, the fauour of the Gospell, seketh couetous gaine, or a carnall libertie, surely he is a seruaunte of Mãmon, enemie vnto Christ, and a sclaunderer of the Gospell. For he that will bee the seruaunt of Christe, muste followe the example of Christe. He that will followe Christe in example of liuyng, he muste forsake himself, take his crosse vpon his backe daicly, and folowe Christ. So Christes seruaunte, shalbe deliuered from the bondage of synne, that he maie frely and willyngly, contemnyng the vanities of the worlde, and mortifiyng the lustes of the flesh, serue Christe in bearyng the crosse of paintull di-

ligence, to doe the duetie of his vocation.

But all those that delite in a carnall libertie, or seke vnlawfull gaines, although thei bee named Christians, and fauourers of the Gospell, ye bee thei indeede not ministers of Christ, but enemies vnto Christ: not louers of the Gospell, but sclaunderers of the Gospell, not iustified by liuely faith, to bee of that righteous sorte, for whose sakes God sparethe, and fauourethe a common wealthe, but deceiued with a deade faithe, to bee of that vngodly sorte, for whose cause God plageth, and destroieth many a Common wealth. And now vndoubtedly be we in greate miseries, and daunger of destruction, for that we haue many that bee hearers, readers, and talkers of Gods worde, and fewe or none that doe walke, and liue accordyng to Gods worde: we ought truely to esteme, and take theim onely to bee ministers of Christe, whiche for the loue of mereie grace, and righteousnesse shewed of the father, vnto them in Christ, doe kill the lustes of their owne flesshe, despise the vanities of the whole worlde, and forsakyng their owne pleasures, and commodities, do take the crosse of painfull diligence, and

walke

walke after Christ, in doing of their duties.
All other that haue the name, and profession of Christe without liuyng, and conuersation accordyng thereto, be faines brethren, in feastes with Christian menne, to take parte of their good cheare, vncleane spottes emongest honest companie, fedyng them selues without feare of God, clowdes without any moisture of Goddes grace, tossed about with contrary windes of straūge doctrine: trees pallyng sometyme without any fruictes of good workes, twise deade without felyng the corruption of synne, or lokyng to be graffed in the stocke of grace, yea, rooted vp from emong the vines of the Lorde. Wilde waues of the Sea, fretyng forthe vnshamefaste bragges, and wanderyng Starres without constancie in iudgement and opinion, vnto whom the dunge of darckenesse is ordeined for euerlastyng dampnation. What marualle is it then, though the vengeaunce of God bee poured foorthe emonges theim of suche iniquitie, yea, and moste haboundantly, when as his worde plainly preached, is of them moste wickedly abused, and shamefullie slaundered, whiche saie: Lorde, Lorde, and doe not

as thei be cõmaunded of the lorde. Wherefore lette vs say: *Non nobis domine, non nobis.* Not vnto vs, O lorde, not vnto vs, but vnto thy name giue glorie, not for that we by our deedes haue deserued, but that thy name, O Christe, emongest vs Christians maie bee honoured, pardon our faultes, amende our liues, and indue vs with grace, that the lighte of our good woorkes, afore menne vpon the yearth, maie cause thē to bee glorified, O Lorde in heauen. Dearely beloued in Christ, for the tender mercies of GOD, when as ye see carnall Gospellers, couetous Idolaters, greuyng your consciences, slaunderyng Christes Religion, and dampnyng their owne soules, doe not of malice contemne disdaine, and reuile thē, but charitable pitie, lamente, sorowe, and praie for theim, whiche blinded with ignorance, knowe not theim selues, detained with the deuill, bee drawen from Christe, comforte, and saluation, vnto euerlastyng death, and dampnation. Saie, and praie for them: O Lorde, suffer not the enemie thus to lead into captiuitie our felowes, thy seruauntes, our brethren, thy children. O Christ restore vnto libertie, them that thou

haste redemed with thy precious bloude, so that we maie altogether drawen of the father, receiued of the soonne, and guided of the holie ghoste, be ministers of Christe in libertie of the Gospell, deliuered frō synne freely to delite, and take pleasure in a godly conuersation, all the daies of oure life. Now let vs after this, takyng of the ministerie of christ, which pertaineth generally vnto al Christians, speake of the disposers of Gods misteries, wherein we maie consider seuerally euery mannes vocation.

Paule did dispose the secretes of God, by the preachyng of the Gospell, whiche was euer secretly hid from the wittie, wise, and learned in the worlde. Other men in other vocations, muste dispose other treasures of God, by other meanes. As the magistrate by authoritie, muste dispose the punishemente of vice, and the mainteinaunce of vertue.

The riche man by liberalitie, muste dispose, relieue, and comforte vnto the poore and nedie. The Marchaunt by buiyng and sellyng, and the craftes man by his occupatiō, must prouide vnto the cōmon wealth, of necessarie wares, sufficient plentie. The

Lawes

Landlorde by lettyng of Fermes, muſt diſpoſe vnto the tenauntes neceſſarie landes, and houſes of an indifferent rent. The huſbandmen by tillyng of the ground, and kéepieng of cattell, muſt diſpoſe vnto their landlordes, due rentes, and vnto thẽ ſelues and other, bothe corne, and other victualles. So euery man by doyng of his duetie, muſt diſpoſe vnto other that commoditie and benefite, whiche is committed of God vnto them, to be diſpoſed vnto other, by the faithfull, and diligent doyng of their duelies.

The treaſures of the lorde be vnmeaſurable, his harte is liberall, there cã be therfore no lacke emonges his people, if his ſtewardes vnto whõ the diſpoſyng of his giftes bee committed, bee true and faithfull. This therefore ſaieth Paule, is required in a Stewarde, that he bee faithfull. Who thinke ye, ſaieth Chriſt, is a faithfull and a wiſe ſtewarde, whom the Lorde ſetteth ouer his houſholde, to giue them a due meaſure of the Wheate of neceſſaries, in tyme conuenient? bleſſed is that ſeruant, whom the Lorde when he commeth, ſhall finde ſo doyng: verely I ſaie vnto you, that he will make hym lorde of all ỹ euer he hath. Be-

holde the faithfulneſſe of the Lordes Stewarde, conſiſteth in diligente prouidyng, and miniſterying vnto the Lordes familie, any ſuche thynges as bee neceſſarie. The rewarde of ſuche faithfolneſſe, is to bee put in truſte with all that his Lorde and Maiſter hath. Then who cã deſire a better maſter then the Lorde God, or a higher roume then a Stewardſhip in the houſe of Chriſt, or a greater rewarde, then to haue all the treaſures of GOD, whiche be an hundred fold, paſſyng any mannes deſeruyng here, and furthermore euerlaſtyng life. O that men would conſider the goodneſſe of God, the worthineſſe of their offices, the comfortable fellowſhippe of the houſholde of Chriſt, and the ioyfull reward of the croun of glorie, and ſo be faithfull ſtewardes, and diſpoſers of the manifolde giftes of God: And not beyng bleared, and blinded with couetouſneſſe, deſerue to be cutte of from the companie of Chriſtians, and to haue their portion with Hypocrites, where as ſhall bee wailyng, and gnaſhyng of teeth. For that the gredie wormе gnawyng the conſciẽce neuer dieth, and the flamyng fire of vntollerable vengeaunce, ſhall be neuer

quen-

quenched.

O brethren, God hath giuen great plentie, and we in Englande finde great lacke: therefore, the Stewardes of God bee vnfaithfull. Who bee Goddes Stewardes? Thei that haue Goddes giftes. Surely no manne hath all the giftes of God, and euery manne hath some giftes of God. Then if all thynges be lackyng, yet can no one man deserue all the blame, but euery man shall be found faultie, for that whiche is amisse, for lacke of his duetie.

Doe ye perceiue that the laitie is either altogether ignorannt, and blinde, or els hauyng knowledge to speake faire, hath no learnyng to doe well? Then surely the Cleargie hath not been faithfull in Preachyng of Goddes woorde earnestly, in season, and out of season, to reproue, beseche, and blame, in all pacience and token, or discipline. Doe ye see the Cleargie hath not wherewith to maintaine learnyng, to relieue the poore, to kepe hospitalitie, and to finde theim selues? Then truely hath not the Laietie sufficiently prouided, that thei whiche preache the Gospell, should liue on the Gospell, and that thei whiche sowe spi-

rituall treasures, might reape corporall necessaries. Doe ye see that thei whiche be in authoritie haue not been regarded, and obediently serued? When the common people haue not doen their duelies, disobeying any man, placed in authoritie by Gods ordinaunce. Doe ye see the people haue had iniuries, and yet their complaintes negligently heard, and long delated? When haue the higher powers omitted righteousnesse and iudgemente, whiche will bee required at their handes of the Lorde.

Doe ye see that in all maner of thinges, is some lacke of that, whiche is verie necessarie? When be ye sure, that all maner of menne doe leaue, or misuse some parte of their duetie. *Qui potest dicere: mundum est cor meum, purus sum a peccato.*

No man can saie: my harte is cleane, I am pure without faultes. Therfore, seyng that wee bee all giltie. Lette vs not enuie, grudge, or disdaine one an others faultes, but euery one acknowledge, lamente, and mende his owne faultes.

Doe not triumphe and be glad, when ye perceiue that other mennes faultes bee noted, or rebuked, but bee moste certaine and

sure,

sure, that except ye spedely repente, and amende, ye shall euery one be likewise serued. If ye haue not those same faultes, whiche ye heare by the Preacher noted, and rebuked, yet if ye take pleasure, and be glad to heare other mennes euilles, be sure that euen that pleasure taking is a faulte, whiche God hateth, and will punishe.

Therefore, when ye heare any mannes faultes spoken of, bee sorie for theim, and take hede to your selues: so shall you thereby gette good, and thei haue no harme. If ye so doe at this tyme, I maie the more boldely examine, and trie the faithfulnesse of some Stewardes, and disposers of Gods giftes. And for the better triall, and assuraunces of their fidelitie, I note twoo thinges to be required: firste, that a Stewarde or disposer be, *Quem constituit dominus*, whō the lorde assigneth and maketh: and secondarily, *Vt det cibum in tempore*, that he vse to fede and cherishe, and not to deuoure, and hurte them of the Lordes familie. For the first parte it is to be noted, that euery man in the tyme of his admission, when he shall be put into his office, is sette on the hill of consideration, and aduisemente: where as

the lorde Christ to those, whiche he admitteth, sheweth that the harueste is great, the labourers be fewe, greate paines must be taken, that muche good maie be doon: vile rebukes, and greuous afflictions here to bee suffered, be the signes and tokens of great rewardes in heauen for theym prepared. The enemy of Christe Sathan vnto those which he woulde deceiue sheweth all the glory of the worlde, promising to geue it a rewarde presently vnto all them that will worship him, fallyng downe at his feete, in flattery, craste, and iniquitie.

Christ the Lorde indueth with will and habilitie to take paynes to doe good, those whiche he bryngeth in at the doore to bee shepherdes of the folde, and stewardes of the house: the Deuill the enemy of Christ clothed in shepe skynnes of solemne titles to get gaines, those which he conueieth not in at the doore, but ouer an other waie to distroie the flocke, and robbe the house.

Therefore if thy roume be benefice, prebende, office or authoritie in a christen cõminaltie within Gods house, and if thou be brought in at the doore of ordinary and lawfull callyng, by painefull diligence to doe

good,

good, thou maiest be a faithfull stewarde in that place: but if thou bee brought in ouer and besides all ordinarie and lawfull calling, by couetous ambicion to get gaynes, then must thou needes be a thiefe and robber: for Christ whiche so saieth can be no liar. I meane, if thou by money or frendship, haue bought either benefice or office, thou canst not be of Christes institution, but of the Deuils intrusion, not a faithfull dispenser, but a theuishe extorcioner of Gods giftes. For Christe saieth plainely, that he which entreth not in at the doore, but climmeth ouer an other waie, is a thiefe and a robber, and the thiefe commeth not but to steale, murther, and destroye. The doore whiche is Christe hym selfe, can neuer bee entered in at by either frendship or money.

Some peraduenture wyll bee offended, not bicause I speake against the buying of benefices, whiche be spirituall charges, but for that I also include the buing and selling of offices, whiche as they saie, be temporall promocions. As for benefices ye knowe so well, that I neede not to stande about the declaration or proofe in theym.

No, I am sure that ye perceiue how that

through the abuse of one benefice, the Deuill oft tymes is sure to haue many soules.

First the patrone for his presentation, then the Bishop for admission, the Person for his vnworthinesse and a greate menie of the parishe that be lost for lacke of a good persons duetie.

But now as concernyng the buing of offices, to come therby vnto the roume of an Auditour, Surueiour, Chauncelour, or any such like, surely no man wil attempt it, but he which is so couetous and ambitious that he doeth neither dread God nor loue man. Wherof commeth the buyng of offices but of couetcousnes? howe then can that be a good frute whiche sprigeth out of the roote of all euill? Is not euery christen common wealth the folde of Christes sheepe, the house of his familie? be not then all officers in a christen cōmon wealth named by gods worde shepherdes of the folde, and stewardes of the family of Christ? O Lorde what shall we then saie to excuse theim that buy and sell Offices within Englande? Shall we saie those offices be no roumes and places ordeined of God for his faithful stewardes, therein to dispose his treasures and benefites?

nesses? or that the vile slaues of wicked mammon for their bribery may lawfully be promoted vnto those roumes, which be ordeined of God to his holy seruauntes for their fidelitie? If we saie that the offices be not mete for Gods seruauntes, then wee confesse that the officers whiche be in them be Gods enemies. If we saie that they be ordeined for the faithfull seruauntes of god, how cã we thinke that thei may be bought vnto the bribyng seruauntes of wicked mammon? Lette vs not seeke excuses to cloke synne, no let euery man be knowen to be a lyer, and specially thei that say: One man can serue two maisters, Mammon in geuyng or takyng of bribes, and GOD in faithfull doyng of duetie. Let God be iustified when ye finde his worde true, whiche plainely affirmeth, that thei which climbe into a common office of Christes folde, by the helpe of Mammon, in at the windowe of bribery, be theeues and robbers, commyng to steale, murder and destroye.

O that no man in this faulte were gilty, then might I be sure that no man woulde be offended. But and if any man be grened bicause his sore is touched, let hym remem-

ber

ber the saiyng of the wise manne: *Meliora sunt vulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta osculatio dientis*: The woundes of the louer be better then the deceipteful kisses of the hater. For the woundes whiche the frinde openeth be to heale olde sores: and the deceipt full kisses of the enemies be to make newe woundes. I speake plainelye to open the wounde, to roote out and heale the disease of couetousnes, whiche woulde be to the wounded and to euery man, comfort. They that by flattery doe couer, kisse, and plaister this depe wounde, doe seeke their owne gaine, to the vtter damnation of the wounded, and to good mens greate grief, yea and to the greate disquietyng of a commune wealth: makyng no difference betwixt the Lordes seruauntes, and the Lordes enemies. For without doubt, *Non est quem constituit dominus.*

He is none of the lordes appointment or admission, whiche entereth into an office by bribyng, money, or flattering frendship. Buyng of an office is an euident token of vnfaithfulnes. He that is once knowen by that token and marke, should be thrust out of the Lordes folde. *Ne furetur, mactet, & perdat,*

perdue, leaste that he robbe, kyll, and destroie. But now by the seconde note, to trie whether that the stewarde and disposer of Gods treasures be faithfull or not, see whether that he be a feder or deuourer. He that feedeth, is faithful: he that deuoureth is vnfaithfull. What doeth he which is vnfaithfull? deuour Gods sheepe. Christen people, the kynges subiectes, A daungerous matter, whiche if it be spoken of, will procure displeasure: and if it be not remedied, wyll procure gods vengeaunce. Surely brethre, I thinke god would neuer haue caused mee to haue medled with this daungerous matter, but that he will geue mee grace more paciently to suffer the losse of myne owne life, then the damnation of your soules.

For if I lose my life here, I shall finde it in heauen. But if you be dampned, and I beyng a watcheman, and seeyng your dampnation commyng, do not geue warnyng, you shall bee taken in youre owne synnes, and your bloud required at my hands. If I geue warnyng, and you take heede, Gods indignation shalbe appeased, and both wee saued. Therfore I beyng a watcheman and by the light of Gods worde spiyng that the

abomina-

abomination of ydolatrous couetousnes, hath kyndeled the indignation of GOD, to consume and destroye the people of thys realme, doe crie out against England by the voyce of the Prophete: *Abiecerunt legem domini*, they haue caste awaie the lawe of the lorde, euery one framyng hymself vnto the fashion of this world: *eloquium sancti Israel blasphemauerunt*. They haue blasphemed the word of the holy one of Israell, by their abominable liuyng. *Ideo incensus est furor domini in populum suum*: therfore is the indignation of GOD kindled against his people. Therfore doth all runne at fire and seuen, from euill vnto worse: therefore doth gods worde take no place to doe good, but is vnthankefully refused, whiche causeth more harme. Is gods word receiued in Englande bicause it is plainly preached and taught, or refused and forsaken, bicause it is not obeyed and followed? Be we in better case then we haue bēn before tyme, bicause papistry amongest vs is keapt vnder, or els worse then euer wee were, bicause couetousnes raigneth at libertie? That whiche papistry abused, hath not couetousnes destroyed? is not papistrie superstition, and couetousnes

idolatrie?

idolatrie? Then I beseeche you, be not so wel amended that be come from abusing to destroiyng, from superstition to idolatrie? And hath not god geuen vnto vs at the banishyng of superstition, comfortable plenty of his holy worde, and by the suppressyng of Abbeyes, exceedyng aboundaunce of all maner of landes, riches, and treasures? And nowe where is it all become? Surely it is muche spent, wasted and lost by euill officers, vnfaithfull disposers, whiche be in deede deuourers. We therefore howe ye haue offended GOD, beguiled the Kyng, spoyled the realme, and indaungered your selues to be accused, condempned, and suffer as most vyle haynous traitours to god, the kyng, and the common wealth. Wherfore whyles ye haue tyme, before ye be condempned, *Sacrificate sacrificium iustitie, & sperate in domino.* Offer a sacrifice of righteousnes, makyng restitution of that whiche ye haue wrongfully gotten: then truste in the Lorde, and he will shewe mercy, prouiding you pardō and safegarde, vnto euery mans comforte. Here I namyng no manne, doo meane almost euery man: for euery man hath some treasure of the lordes to dispose,

and

and none is so faithfull that he maye bee a-
ble to stande vnto the triall, entryng with
the Lorde into iudgemente. Therefore I
aduertise both Ministers of the Cleargie,
officers in authority, & other people of eue-
ry degree, to acknowledge their faultes, and
make restitution to the vttermoste of their
power. First vnto the cleargie, I say: there
is none of you all hauing so much learning,
wit, and diligence, as is possible to be in one
man, that can do more then one mans due-
tie: why then doe ye take and keepe, some
four or fiue mens liuyngs? I do not thincke
that euery man is worthy blame that hath
a greate liuyng, nor to be praysed that hath
a little liuyng. For as god hath geuen some
more excellent giftes of learnyng, wit and
policy, so hath he prouided for the same bet-
ter liuyng with higher authoritie: howbeit
no man may promote hym selfe to procede
from a meane liuyng vnto a better, *quia ne-
mo sibi sumet honorem*, for no man maie pre-
ferre hym selfe vnto honour, *nisi qui à deo
vocatus est*, but he whiche for his fidelitie in
a litle, is called of God to be trusted with
more. But it is not a good reason to saie,
that bicause an honest man for his fidelitie

is called of GOD from the lesse vnto the more, therefore a couetous man through grædynes, may keepe lesse and take more, and so ioyne three or four of them together to make diuers parishes in diuers shyres, all one mans liuyng. The Prophete crieth: *Ve vobis qui coniungitis domum ad domum, & agrum agro copulatis.* Wo bee vnto you that ioyne house to house, and knit field to field. What rehearseth he no more but houses and fieldes? No, for there was neuer suche abomination in the prophetes tymes, as to ioyne parishe to parishe, prebende to benefices, and Deanries vnto knightes landes. I praie God that some of theym if they bee worthy men in wisdome, learning and iudgment, may be promoted vnto worthy rowmes, and that those meaner liuinges which thei haue heaped together to fill one purse, beyng so farre distant in place and conditions that they can neuer bee well serued of one mans duety, may be deuided and disposed vnto meaner men: whiche beyng more fit for theis liuynges, maye doe more good with theim.

I heare some complaine, and saie that all thynges be now so chargeable, that one be-

nesse is not able to finde an honest manne? And if ye inquire of the same man, whom thei keepe and finde in their Benefice, thei theim selues beyng absent, thei will saie, A learned Curate, and a diligente Fermer: bothe honest men. O wicked worldlynges, condempned by your owne woordes. The whole Benefice, if ye should bee therewith content, lyng vpon it, and loke for no more would not finde one man.

But when ye haue gotten other promotions besides that, to lye in an other place frō it, then a small portion of it doeth serue two honest men, whiche ye leaue in your absence. Yarke you that haue three or fower benefices, I will saie the beste for you that can bee spoken: Thou liest alwaies at one of thy Benefices, thou arte absente alwaies from three of thy Benefices: thou keepest a good house at one of thy Benefices, thou keepeste no house at three of thy Benefices, thou dooest thy duetie at one of thy Benefices, thou doest no duetie at three of thy Benefices. Thou semest to be a good manne in one place, and in deede thou arte founde nought in three places. Wo bee vnto you worse then Scribes, and Phariseis.

Hypo-

Hypocrites, whiche shutte vp the kyngdome of heauen afore menne, keepyng the Parishe, so that neither you enter in your selfe, neither suffer theim that would enter in, and doe their duetie, to haue your roumes, and commodities. Wo bee vnto you dumbe Dogges, choked with Benefices, so that ye bee not able to open your mouthes, to barke against pluralities, improperations, buiyng of Mouſons, nor against any euill abuſe of the Cleargies liuynges. No, for your selues might goe a beggyng, if liuynges that bee ordeined for the Cleargie, were not abused, but restored, and bestowed vpon thē onely, that doeth the Cleargies duetie. Therefore, you bee the inuenters, and procurers of vngodlie Statutes, and deuilishe deuises, to giue Lordes Chapelaines, whiche ought to liue vppon their maisters wages, authority to liue vpō the spoile of diuers Parishes. *Ad erubescentiam vestram dico*, I speake to make you ashamed of your selues. If gentle men that be lordes seruauntes, might obtaine of the kyng and his counsaile Placardes or warrauntes, to kepe a standyng vpon Shooters hille, Salesburie plaine, or in any theeuishe place, to

take mens purses by the waie, should not this be robberie, and shamefull abhomination, to bee maintained by lawes, statutes, and authoritie: What should a yong gentle manne bee ashamed, to robbe one riche mannes purse of fourtie shillynges once in his life: And an auncient Prelate not once blushe, whiche robbeth diuers poore Parishes of fourtie pounds yerely, all the daies of his life. You pestilent Prelates, whiche by flatterie poison the high powers of authoritie, be ye neither afraied, nor ashamed to make the Kynges Maiestie, his Lawes, and youre Lordes and Maisters, whiche should be the ministers of Justice and equitie, to bee the defenders, and maintainers of your vngodlie robberie: Your example and flatterie, hath caused the greate men, and riche men to take to theim selues, the hauntage and profites, and giue vnto their children, beyng ignorannte babes, the names and titles of Parsonages, Prebendes, Archdeaconries, and of all maner of offices. For euen as well maie the Lorde that can not, as the Doctor that wil not doe his duetie, take the profites to hym self, & leaue a hirelyng vnto the Parishe: and yet both be

nought,

nought. O that it would please God, to ope the yes of the higher powers, to perceiue what good doctrine, naie, what deuilishe disorder is taught by them that be double, and triple beneficed. For their exãple teacheth, and their preachyng can neuer diswade, to set and ordaine riche robbers, and ignorant teachers ouer the Christian congregation, Goddes people, the kynges subiectes: yea, and as for ciuill order in all offices, ambicious coueteous men learnyng at them, take the solempne titles, and good fers vnto thẽ selues, and leaue their dueties vnto other, so to be neglected and abused, as causeth all disorder, and disobedience. For who but officers should set good order, and make quietnesse? And how can he sæ any good order, whiche placeth hym self in tenne mennes roumes? Or make other to bee quiet with nothyng, that will neuer quiete hym selfe with any one liuyng? Yea, how can he bee but a maker of businesse, that thrusteth many men out of their liuynges? But for all this the flatterer will saie, that there is a greate nomber of theim, that hath many mennes liuynges in their handes, whiche doee muche good with theym, yea, and

be liberall gentle men, very good officers, and godlie Preachers. But wotte ye what the scripture saieth: thei bee *Canes impudentissimi, nescientes satuitatem*, Unshamefaste Dogges, knowyng no measure of greedie gettyng.

Derelinquentes rectam viam erranerunt secuti viam Baalam filij Bosor, Leauyng the right waie of procedyng vnto great ses by faithfull diligence in doyng worthy dueties, doe straie in couetousnes, folowyng Baalam the sonne of Bosor. Louyng the reward of cursed and wicked crafte. O take heede of Balaam you that loue the reward of iniquitie, a reward for cursyng the people, whom god would haue blessed. A fes for keepyng those offices vnto your selues, whiche god amongest the people woulde haue erecuted. Can ye saie any more for your selues then Baalam did? *Si dederat mihi Balaac domum suam, plenam argenti & auri*. If Balaac would giue vnto me his house full of siluer and golde, I can not chaunge the woorde of the Lorde my God, to speake more or lesse. Can ye dooe any better in the sighte of the worlde, then Balaam did vpon the hilles, euen as the Lorde did commaunde hym,

and

and none otherwise: And yet louyng the reward of iniquitie, beyng a Prophet, was rebuked of a brute beast: as you beyng wise men, ought to learne at a foolishe Asse, not to ouerburdain and loade your selues, with farre more then ye are able to beare. Surely it is an vngodly, and wicked desire of you to looke for a rewarde bothe of God, for dutie, and also of Mammon for takyng vpon you, farre more then euer ye bee able for to discharge. Balaam sought how to get thākes of God, and a rewarde of Balaac, and in so dooyng he loste the fauour of God, the reward of Balaac, and caused the people to synne, so that the vengeaunce of God, did sore plague the Israelites, and vtterly destroie Baalam and Baalac, and all their sorte. And when as you, by heapyng of liuynges together, do seke to get the wealth of the worlde, and also the fauour of God, by pretendyng to do so many dueties as no man is able to performe, ye lose the fauour of GOD, and ye shall bee deceiued of the woorlde, and bryng suche iniquitie emongest the people, as shall prouoke the indignation of GOD to plage them, and to destroie you. For the tender mercies of god,

in our sauior Jesu Christ, although I ruffle and frette your Legges vppon the Hedge, and pales of Goddes vineyarde, and speake plainly, beyng but a very Asse, in comparison of your wisedome, cunnyng, and experience, yet I beseche you deare brethren, be assuredly that I speake not of malice, but of pitie, not of enuie, but of feare: for I see evidently the Aungell of the Lorde, with a Sworde of vengeaunce, readie to destroie you, if ye doe not staie, but proceade in this vngodly waie: see and beholde, *Nisi conuersi fueritis, gladium suum acuit, arcum suum tetendit & parauit illum*, except ye tourne, he the Lorde hath whet his sworde, he hath bente his Bowe, and made it readie with deadlie dartes. Surely brethren, this heapyng together of liuynges, maketh you to haue so many thynges to doe, that ye can doe nothyng well: it is the readie waie not to edifie, but to destroie. Wherfore, if ye can not espie your owne faultes in your selues, yet looke one at an other: looke you of the Laitie, at them of the Cleargie, that seyng the moates in their iyes, ye maie learne to pul the beames out of your owne iyes. Doe ye not see, how that they of the cleargy, by hea-

pyng

pyng together many liuynges, haue caused many poore parishes to paie their Tithes, that lacke their Parsones? Doe you not see that prebendes, which were godly founded as most conuenient, and necessary liuynges for Preachers to helpe the Bishoppes, and the Parsones to instruct the people, be now vngodly abused to corrupt the Bishoppes, and the Parsones that rather seke the vantage of good Prebendes to inriche them selues, then the helpe of godly Preachers, to instruct Gods people? Doe ye not see, how these prouiders of pluralities, hauyng the cure of christian soules in the Parishe, and shepefolde of Christe, doe leaue the flocke, and take the spoile to spende in noble mennes houses, where as thei dooe see, that the keper of horses in the stable, of cattel in the field, and of dogges in the kenell, doeth liue on his maisters wages, and not on the pillage of his cure. O ye noble men, ga ye giue vnto the kepers of your horses, cattell and dogges, wages, leaste that thei should sell your horses, kill your cattell, or flea your dogges, to liue vppon the skinnes: and will ye allowe your Chapleines no wages, but cause theim to liue vpon the murther, and

ſpoile of the innocente Lambes of God, redemed and bought with Chriſtes precious bloud? Doe ye ſee, how by theſe ſeruauntes of Mammon, enemies of Chriſte, greedie Wolues in Lambe ſkinnes, the Pariſhes be ſpoiled, the people vntaught, GOD vnknowen, his liuely woordes ſet graciouſly forthe by the kynges proceadynges, is vngraciouſly ſuſpected, hated, and abhorred of the ignoraunt people?

You of the laitie, when ye ſe theſe ſmall motes in the iyes of the cleargie, take hede to the greate beames that bee in your owne iyes. But alas I feare, leaſt that ye haue no iyes at all. For as hypocriſie and ſuperſtition, doeth bleare the iyes: ſo couetouſneſſe and ambition, doth put the iyes cleane out. For if ye were not ſtarke blinde, ye would ſee, and bee aſhamed, that where as fiftie tunne beallied Monkes, giuen to glottonie filled their paunches, kepte vp their houſe, and relieued the whole countrie rounde about them, there one of your gredie guttes deuouryng the whole houſe, and makyng greate pillage throughout the countrie, can not be ſatiſfied.

If ye had any iyes, ye ſhould ſee, and bee aſhamed

ashamed to confesse, that if some of you should not haue many offices, there would not bee men inough founde, to put in euery office one man, meete and able by doyng of their dueties, to serue the kyng, and take good order emongest the people, where as there is a greate number, to many of your sorte, whiche thinke your selues mete, and worthie, by takyng many offices in hande, to burdain the kyng and the people, with al fees and charges, belongyng vnto euery office: yea, and furthermore to require Parsonages, Prebendes, Deaneries, and any maner of liuyng, due vnto the Ecclesiastical ministerie, to be giuen vnto you for seruyng the Kyng, in takyng the vauntage of many, and dooyng the dueties of fewe offices, belongyng vnto ciuill policie.

If ye had any eyes ye should see and be ashamed, that in the greate aboundaunce of landes and goods taken from Abbeies, Colleges and Chauntries, for to serue the kyng in all necessaries, and charges, especially in prouision of relefe for the poore, and for maintenaunce of learnyng, the kyng is so disapointed, that both the poore be spoyled, all maiteinaunce of learnyng decayed, and

you

you vnlyenriched. But for bicause he haue no eyes to see with, I will declare that you maye heare with your eares, & so perceiue and knowe, that where as god and the king haue beene moste liberall to geue and bestowe, there you haue been moste vnfaithfull to dispose and deliuer. For accordyng vnto gods worde and the kynges pleasure, the Vniuersities whiche bee scholes of all godlines and vertue, shoulde haue been nothyng decaied, but muche increased and amended by the reformation of religion.

As concernyng Gods worde for the vpholdyng and increase of the Vniuersities, I am sure that no man knowyng learning and vertue doth doubte. And as for the kinges pleasure it did well appeare in that hee established vnto the Vniuersities all Priuiledges, graunted afore his tyme, and also in all maner of paymentes required of the Cleargie, as Tythes, and first fruites, the Vniuersities bee exempted. Yea and the kynges maiestie that dead is, did geue vnto the Vniuersities of Cãbridge at one time, twoo hundred poundes yerely to the exibition and findyng of fiue learned menne, to reade and teache diuinitie, lawe, Phisicke, Græke

Greeke and Ebrue.

At an other tyme .xxx. pounde yerely, *in liberam & puram eleemosinam*. In free and pure almes. And finally for the foundation of a new Colledge, so much as should serue to builde it, and replenishe it with mo scholers and better liuinges then any other colledge in the vniuersity afore that time had.

By the which euery man may perceiue, that the kyng geuyng many thynges, and takyng nothyng frō the Vniuersities, was verie desirous to haue theim increased and amended. Howbeit all they that haue knowen the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, sence that tyme that it did first beginne to receiue these greate and manifolde benefites from the kynges maiestie, at your handes, haue iust occasion to suspect that you haue deceiued both the kyng and Vniuersitie, to enriche your selues. For before that you dyd beginne to be disposers of the kynges liberalitie towardes learnyng and pouertie, there was in houses belongyng vnto the vniuersitie of Cambridge, two hundred studentes of diuinitie, manie verie well learned: whiche be now all cleane gone, house and man, yong towarde scholers, and olde

fatherly

fatherly doctour, not one of them left: some hundred also of an other sorte, that hauyng riche frendes or beyng benificed men, dyd liue of theim selues in Ostries and Innes, be either gone awaie, or els faine to crepe into Colledges, and put poore menne from bare liuynges. Those bothe be all gone, and a small number of poore godly diligent studentes now remainyng onely in Colledges bee not able to tary and continue their studie in the vniuersitie, for lacke of exhibition and helpe. There be diuers ther which ryse daicly betwixte foure and fiue of the clocke in the morneyng, and from fiue vntill syxe of the clocke, vse common praier, with an exhortation of gods worde in a common Chappell, and from sixe vnto tenne of the clocke vse either priuate studie or common lectures. At ten of the clocke they go to dinner, where as they be content with a peny pece of biefe amongest foure, hauing a few porage made of the broth of the same biefe, with Salte and Otemell, and nothing els.

After this slender dinner, they be either teaching or learning vntil fiue of the clocke in the euenyng, when as they haue a supper not much better then their dinner. Im-

mediatly

mediatly after the whiche, they goe either to reasonyng in problemes, or vnto some other studie, vntill it be nyne or ten of the clocke, and there beyng without fyre are faine to walke or runne vp and downe halfe an houre to get a heate on their feete when they goe to bed.

These be men not wery of their paines, but very sory to leaue their studie: and sure they be not able some of theym to continue for lacke of necessary exibition and relefe. These be the liuyng saintes whiche serue god, takyng greate paines in abstinence, studie, labour and diligence, with watchyng and praier. Wherefore as Paule, for the saintes and brethren at Hierusalem, so I for your brethren and Saintes at Cambridge moste humblie beseeche you, make your collections amongest you riche Marchantes of this citie, and sende theim your oblations vnto the vniuersitie, so shall ye be sure to please God, to comfort them, and prouide learned menne to doo muche good throughout all this realme. Yea and truely ye be debters vnto theim: For they haue sowen amongest you the spirituall treasures of Gaddes worde, for the whiche they

ought

ought to reape of you againe corporall ne-
ceſſaries. But to retourne vnto them that
ſhould better haue prouided for learnyng,
and pouertie in all places, but eſpecially in
the Vniuerſities.

Looke whether that there was not a
greate number, of bothe learned and poore,
that might haue been kepte, maintained,
and relieued in the vniuerſities: which lac-
kyng all helpe or comfort, were compelled
to forſake the Vniuerſitie, leaue their boo-
kes, and ſeeke their liuyng abroade in the
Countrie: Yea, and in the countrie many
Grammer ſchooles, founded of a godly in-
tent, to bryng vp poore mennes ſonnes in
learnyng and vertue, now be taken awaie,
by reaſon of the grædie coueteouſneſſe of
you, that were put in truſt by God, and the
kyng, to erecte, and make Grammer ſchoo-
les in many places: and had neither com-
maundement nor permiſſiõ, to take awaie
the Schoolemaiſters liuyng in any place,
moreouer, muche Charitable almoſe was
there in many places, yerely to bee beſto-
wed in poore Tounes and Pariſhes, vpon
Gods people, the kynges ſubiectes: which
almoſe to the greate diſpleaſure of GOD,

and

and dishonour of the kyng, yea, and contrarie to Gods worde, and the kynges lawes, ye haue taken awaie. I knowe what ye do saie, & bragge in some places: that ye haue dooen as ye were commaunded, with as muche Charitie and liberalitie, towardes bothe pouertie and learnyng, as your commission would beare and suffer.

Take hede whom ye slaunder, for Gods woorde, and the kynges lawes and statutes, bee open vnto euery mannes iyes, and bee euery commission directed, accordyng vnto them, ye bothe might and should haue giuē muche, where as ye haue taken much awaie. Take heede vnto the kynges statutes, the actes of Parliament, there ye shall finde that the nobles, and commons do giue and the kyng dooeth take into his handes, Abbeies, Colledges, and Chauntries, for erectyng of Grammer Schooles, the godlie bringyng vp of youth, the farther augmentyng of the vniuersities, and better prouition for the poore. This shall ye finde in the Actes of Parliament, in the kynges statutes: but what shalbe founde in your practise and in youre deedes? Surely the pullyng doune of Grammer schooles, the deuillishe

drowning of youth in ignorance, the vtter decaie of the Vniuersities, and moste vnCharitable spoile of prouision, that was made for the poore. Was it not a godly, and charitable prouision of the king, to giue vnto the Vniuersities, C. C. li. yerely, for excellent readers: Thirtie pounds yerely in pure almose, and many hundred pounds also to the foundation, & erection of a newe Colledge? And was it not a deuilish deuise of you, to tourne all this the kynges bountous liberalitie, into impropriations of benefices, whiche bee Papisticall, and vncharitable spoiles of moste necessery prouision for poore parishes? *Intelligite insipientes in populo, & stulti aliquando sapite.*

Learne vnderstandyng you that playe vnwise partes amongest the people, and you fooles once ware wyse. *Qui plantauit aurem non audiet?*

Ye that set the eares, shall he not heare the sorowfull complaint of poore parishes, against you that haue by impropriacions cleane taken awaie hospitalitie, and much impared the due liuyngs of gods ministers, the peoples instructours and teachers. *Qui figurat oculum non considerat?* Ye that falsifyned

ned the eye, doeth he not beholde howe that the best landes of Abbeyes, Colledges, and Chaunteries be in youre handes, and euyll improperations conueied to the kynge and to the vniuersities and Bishoppes landes?

Qui corripit gentes non arguet?

He that corrected and punisheth the heathen, lackyng the light of Gods worde, for the onely abuse of naturall reason, will hee not reproue and condempne you, whiche haue good reasonable wittes, Gods holye worde, the kynges lawes, and statutes: and muche power and authoritie geuen vnto you, to edifie and doe good, seeyng it is abused of you to destroie and doe hurt? Should not you haue amended the prouisiõ for the poore, the education of youth, & the conditiõ of the vniuersities? And be they not by your sore hurte and decayed? The kyng should and would haue reformed religiõ. The first parte of reformation is, to restore and geue againe all suche thynges, as haue beene wrongfully taken and abused. Surely the Abbeies did wrongfully take and abuse nothyng so muche, as the improperations of benefices. Nothyng is so papisticall as improperations of benefices be: they bee the

Popes dearlynges and paramours, whiche by the deuelishe deuice of wicked Balaamites, be set a broade in this realme to cause the learned men of the vniuersities, and all bishops that be godly men, the Popes enemies, to cõmit spirituall fornication with thẽ. Why did god destroie the Madianites, but for their synne? Why did he plague the Israelites but for the same syn? Why did God cause the Abbyies to be destroied, but for papisticall abuses? And why should not god plague ẏ vniuersities & bishops, keping and medlyng with improperations, that be the same papisticall and deuelishe abuses?

O what a bloudie daie shal it be when as for this abomination this spiritual fornication, god shal cõmaund his faithfull seruant Moyses ẏ kyngs maiesty, to take & hang all the rulers of the people, ẏ haue wittinglie suffred these whorish Madianites, these popishe abuses? And cause a zelous phinées to shed the hearte bloud of hym, that before Moyses and many Israelites, before a high iustice and many people, taketh a Madianite into his Tent, an improperation into his inheritaunce? But nowe bretheren as Peter preached vnto the Iewes: *Nunc fratres*

tres scio quod per ignorantiam fecistis. Now brethren, I knowe that you haue doen this through ignoraunce: for the Lorde whiche foreseeth all thinges, knoweth that if you had not been blynded with ignoraunce, ye coulde neuer for pitie haue executed his indignation and wrath, in makyng suche destruction. Seeing therfore, that it was gods pleasure thus by one euill to punishe another, now repent, and amende, that youre faultes may be pardoned. It pleased god, by the blynde malice of the Iewes, to nayle Christ Iesu vpon the crosse: and yet as many of theim, as hearing that matter opened by Peter, were greeued and pricked in conscience, so many saied vnto Peter, and to the other Apostles. What shall wee doe? The Apostolicall councell was: *Agite penitentiam, recipiscite.* Repent and amend. So dere brethren hearyng and knowyng that God hath vsed your greedy couetousnes, to destroye Abbeyes, Colledges, and Chauntries, and to plague all this realme, be greued and sory in your heartes, seyng that ye haue been *vasa ire*, instrumentes of wrath, to execute vengeaunce: and pourge your selues of this vile couetousnes, then shall ye

from hence forth bee *vasa honoris*, vessels of honour, to serue God, *in sanctitate & iustitia*, in holines and righteousnes all the daies of your life.

And now on the other parte, you that bee of the communaltie, when ye see that any plague or punishment commeth by them that be set ouer you in office and authoritie, know ye that they doe it not of themselues, but be moued and stirred of GOD, to worke his wrath vppon you. For when as God was displeased with the Israelites, then his displeasure caused Dauid their kyng, to take that wate that brought a pestilence emongest the people, wherevpon dyed lxx. thousande: *Addidit furor domini iratus contra Israel, commouitque Dauid.* The indignation of the Lorde waxed whot against Israell, and he stirred vp Dauid. What kindled the indignation of God, but the sinnes of the people? The sinnes of the people did kindle the indignation of the Lorde: the Lordes indignation stirred vp Dauid in presumption. Dauids presumptuousnes, caused the people to dye on the pestilence. And euen as then god ordeined that Christ should be crucified by the malicious blyndnes

nes of the Iewes, the Israelites plagued by the presumption of Dauid.

So hath hee ordeined that Englande should be spoyled with greate couetous officers. Looke then, what hath made this greate spoyle in Englande? greedie couetousnes of officers. What did make in the suche greedie couetousnes? the indignation of God. What kyndled Gods indignation? the synnes of the people. What was the synne of the people? *Eloquium sancti Israel, blaspemauerunt.* They haue blasphemed the holy worde of God, callyng it newe learnyng and hereticall doctrine: *Ideo iratus est furor domini.* And therefore is the wrath of the Lorde kindled. Now you people, which crie and saie, that you are robbed and spoyled of all that ye haue: Would ye haue this which ye call robbing & spoilyng to be ceassed? The quench ye indignatio of god which he doth cause and make it. If ye will quench ye indignation of God. *Hodie si vocem eius audieritis.* To daie, euen now if ye shall heare his voyce, harden not your hartes, as in the prouocatio in the daie of temptation. Hard heartes, stiffe neckes, disobedient mindes, prouoke, tempte, and stirre up the indigna-

tion of God.

Truely the indignation of God shal neuer be quenched, vntill that you with tender heartes, humble, obedient, and thankefull myndes, receiue, embrace, & conforme your selues vnto the holy worde of God, set forth by the kynges Maiestie, his gracious procedynges.

There is as yet moare stiffe necked stubburnes, deuelishe disobedience, and greedy coueitousnes in one of you of the common sorte, that keepeth this greate swellyng in the harte, hauyng no occasion to set it forth in exercise, then is in fewne of the moste of theim, that beyng in office and authoritie, haue many occasions to open & shewe themselues what they be.

When did euer any officers in authoritie, shewe suche rebellious proude myndes, as was of late plainely perceiued in diuers many of the commonaltie? Put the case that they bee so coueitous, that one of their gredie guttes hath swallowed vp a whole Abbeye, House, Landes and goods. And if you had had powers vnto your willes, ye had deuoured whole countries, houses and goods, men and beastes, corne and cattell, &

ye did beginne.

Some of theym kæpeth their fermes in their owne handes, and many of you keepe youre owne Corne in youre own Barnes. Yea marie, why shoulde we not kæpe our corne in oure owne Barnes? Forsooth ye now maie not kæpe it for dread of God, obedience to the kynges maiestie, and pitie of your poore neighbours: For God saieth: *Qui abscondit frumenta, maledicetur in populis: benedictio autem super caput vendentium*: Hee that hideth vp corne, shall bee accursed amonges the people: but blessyng shalbe vppon their heades that bryngeth it foorth to the markettes to selle. Here ye heare the blessyng and curse of God.

Ye knowe the kynges gracious Proclamation, ye maie perceiue your neighbours neede, by their miserable complaint. And yet neither God by blessyng and cursynge, neither the kyng by proclamation and commission, neither the poore by praiyng and paiyng, can cause you to serue the markets with Corne. But let gods worde, the kynges lawes, honest order, and charitable prouision be put forth of all market townes, by wicked manuuon, and lette hym onely

keepe the Markettes, and sette prices for your purposes, and without doubte euery Market shalbe full of all maner of Corne, and victualles commyng in on all sides.

O wicked seruauntes of Mammon, alwaies both enemies, and traitours to God and the kyng, and the Common wealthe. Is it God or Mammon that hath made the Corne to spryng, and giuen you plentie? If ye saie Mammon, then ye confesse plainly, whose seruauntes ye bee, what Idolatrie ye vse. If ye saie God, how dare ye confesse him in your wordes, and deny him in your deedes? Why doe ye not bryng forthe goodes corne vnto Gods people, at Gods commaundement? Why be ye not faithfull disposers of Gods treasures? Well, he that hath no corne thinketh he hath no part, nor is not giltie in this matter: but I can tell, that there is many of theim, that neither hath, nor will haue Corne, whiche make Corne moste deare. I haue heard how that euen this laste yere, there was certaine Acres of Corne, growyng on the grounde, bought for eight poundes: he that bought it for eight, solde it for ten. He that gaue ten poundes, solde it to an other aboue xij poundes:

des, & at laste, he that caried it of the grou̅d, paied. xiiij. poundes. Likewise I heard, that certaine quarters of Malte were boughte, after the price of three shillinges. iiij. pence a quarter, to be deliuered in a certain market toune, vpon a certaine daie. This bargaine was so ofte bought and solde, before the daie of deliuerau̅ce came, that the same Malte was solde to him that should receiue it there, and carrie it awaie, after. vj. shillynges a quarter. Looke and se how muche a Craftes man, or any other honeste man, that must spēde corne in house, by this maner of bargainyng, paieth, and howe little the housbande man that tilleth the ground and paieth the rente, receiueth: Then ye maie se and perceiue, it must nedes be hard for either of them to kepe a house, the craftes manne paiyng so muche, and the housbande man takyng so little.

There is a like maner of bargainyng, of them that be Leasmongers, for Leasemongers, make the tenauntes to paie so muche, and the landlorde to take so little, that neither of them is well able to keepe house. I heare saie that within a fewe miles of Lōdon, an honest gentleman did let his grou̅d

 by

by lease, vnto poore honest men, after two
thillynges fower pence an Acre: then com-
meth a Leasemonger, a thiefe, an extortio-
ner, deceiuyng the tenauntes, buieth their
Leases, putte them from the grounde, and
causeth them that haue it at hym nowe, to
paie after nine thillynges, or as I heard
saie. xix. thillynges, but I am ashamed to
name so muche. Howbeit, couetous extor-
tioners, be ashamed of no deede, be it neuer
so euill. And as I heare saie, there be many
Leasemongers in London, that heightheth
the rente of bare houses: and as corne, lan-
des, tenementes, and houses, so in all ma-
ner of wares, there be suche buiers and sel-
lers, as cause the prouiders and makers of
the wares, to take so little, and the occupi-
ers of the wares to paie so muche, that nei-
ther of them both be able to liue. All the
Marchauntes of mischief, that goe betwixt
the barke and the tree, betwixte the house-
bande man that getteth the corne, and the
housholder that occupieth Corne, betwixte
the Landlorde, that setteth Fermes, and
the tenauntes that dwell in the Fermes.
And betwixt the craftes man that maketh,
or the Marchaunte that prouideth wares,

and

and other men that occupieth wares. I saie these Marchauntes of mischief, comming betwixte the barke and the tree, doe make all thinges dearre to the buiers: and yet wonderfull vile & of small price to many, that must needes sell that, whiche is their owne honestly come by. These bee farre worse then any other, that hath been mencioned heretofore. For although beneficed men, and officers haue many mennes liuinges, yet thei doe some mennes duelties. But these haue euery mannes liuyng, and doo no mannes duetie. For thei haue that, whiche is in deede the liuyng of craftes mē Marchauntmen, housbandmen, landlordes and tenauntes, and do neuer a one of these mennes duelties. These be idle vacabondes liuyng vpon other mennes labours: these bee named honeste bargainers, and bee in deede craftie courteous extortioners. For thei that be true Marchauntmen to buie, & sell in deede, should and doe prouide greate plentie and goodcheape, by honest buiyng and sellyng of their wares. But these hauyng the names of true Marchauntes, and dueyng in deede craftie thieues, doe make a scarsitie and dearth of all thynges, that cō-

meth through their handes.

Take awaie all Marchaunt men, from any towne or citie, and ye shall leaue almost no prouision of thynges that be necessarie. Take awaie Leasmongers, Regratours, and al suche as by buiyng and selling, make thynges more deare, and when thei be gone, all thynges will be more plentie, and better cheape. Now maie ye see, who thei be that make a greate dearth, in a greate plentie. For who is it, that heightheneth the price of corne, the housebanduman that getteth plentie of Corne, by tillyng of the grounde? No: the Regratour that buyeth corne to make it deare, growyng vpon the ground. Who raiseth rentes, ioyneth house to house, and heapeth Fermes together? The gentleman, that by giuyng of Leases, letteth forthe his owne landes into other mennes handes? No, the Leasemongers, that by sellyng leases, buieth and bryngeth other mennes landes, into their owne handes. Who maketh all maner of wares, and marchaundises to be verie deare? the marchaunt venterer, whiche with faithfull diligence, to prouide for the common wealth carrieth forthe suche thinges, as maie well

be spared, and bryngeth home suche wares as must needes be occupied in this realme? No, the marchant of mischief, that by craftie conueighaunce for his owne gaine, carrieth awaie suche thynges as might not bee spared, and bryngeth againe suche wares, as are not needefull. Take heede you Marchaunts of London, that ye bee not Marchaunts of mischief, conueighyng awaie to muche olde Leade, Tinne, Lether, and suche substanciall wares, as would set many Englishemen to worke, and doe euery man good seruice, and bryngyng home Silkes, and Sables, cattaines, and foolishe Fethers, to fill the realme full of such baggage as will neuer doe riche or poore good, and necessary seruice. Be ye sure, if this realme be riche, ye shall not neede to be poore: if this realme bee poore, you shall not bee able to keepe, and inioye your riches. Take heede then that your marchaundise, bee not a seruyng of foolishe mennes phansies, whiche will destroie the realme: but let it be a prouidyng for honest discrete mennes commodities, whiche will bee the vpholdyng, and inrichyng of you, and the whole Realme. Take heede vnto your vocations Prelates,

and Preachers, Magistrates, and Officers, Landlordes, and Tenauntes, Craftesmē, and Marchauntes, all maner of men take hēde vnto your selues, and to your conuersatiō and liuyng: yea, deare brethren at the reuerence of God, for a generall comforte to all partes, without grēdie couetousnes towardes our selues, or malicious enuie towardes other, with a single eye, of a pure harte, let vs cōsider, and acknowledge how that the bountifull liberalitie of almightie God, hath giuen vnto this realme, wonderfull plentie of Parsonages, Prebendes, Benefices, Offices, and all maner of liuynges: with greate aboundaunce of Corne, cattell, landes, gooddes, and all wares that bee good and profitable: and howe that it is certainly, the vnfaithfull disposers, whiche cause a greate scarcitie, dearth, and lacke of all these giftes, and treasures of God, therfore *dominus de cælo prospexit, vt videat si est intelligens aut requirens deum.* The Lorde looked doune from heauen, to see if there wer any that had vnderstandyng, and sought to please God, in faithfull dispesyng of Gods treasures: but seing that *Omnes student auaritiæ, a maiore vsque ad minorem.* All bee giuen

vnto

vnto couetousnesse, from the highest vnto the lowest, so that poore people can haue no houses to dwell in, grounde to occupie, no, nor corne for their money. The Lorde hym selfe speakyng vnto the yearth, sheweth where is the faulte: *Principes tui infideles.* Thy heade rulers and officers, be vnfaithfull dispolers. *Socij furum*, theuisshe felowes. *Omnes diligunt munera*, thei all loue brybes, *& sequuntur retributiones*, and hunte for promotions. What then, O Lorde, shalbe the ende of all this? *Vivo ego dicit dominus.* As truely as I liue, saieth the Lorde, *propterea quod facti sunt greges mei in rapinam*, because that my flocke haue been spoiled, *& oues mee in deuorationem omnium bestiarū agri*, and my shepe deuoured of all wilde beastes of the field, *quia non esset pastor*, because there was no keper, *Neque enim quesierunt pastores mei gregem meum.* For these whiche wer named my Pastours, did take no heede vnto my flocke. *Sed pastores pascebant semetipsos.* But those Pastours did fede them selues, prouiding for profite, *& greges meos non pascebant*, and my flocke thei did not fede, by doyng of their dueties. *Propterea pastores audite verbum domini.* Therefore ye kepers, heare the

woorde of the Lorde. What woorde? That the flocke shalbe deliuered, and you shalbee destroied: that is a true woorde: for *qua mensura mensi fueritis, remecietur vobis*: because the same measure that you haue serued other, ye your selues shall also bee serued: for as ye haue serued superstitious papistes, so shall you your selues bee serued, beyng coueteous Idolaters: yea, and haue as muche hauntage at the mœtyng, as is betwirte superstition, and Idolatrie. Yow be it, God giuyng you respite to looke for amendemẽt: offers more gentlenesse, if ye will take it. For in the .xv. of Jeremie he saieth: *Ecce ego do coram vobis viam vite & viam mortis*: Beholde, I set before you the waie of life, and the waie of death: if ye repent and amende, life: if ye be still stiffe necked, death: for the Lorde by Esaie .i. saieth: *Si volueritis & audieritis*: If ye will heare, to repente and amende: *Bona terre comedetis*, ye shall eate the good fruictes that the yearth shall bryngе forth, to your comfort. *Si volueritis, & me ad iracundiam prouocaueritis*, if ye will not, but prouoke me to anger, *gladius deuorabit vos*. The swoorde shall eate you vp. *Quia os dominī locutū est*. For it is Gods owne mouth

that

that hath spoken it. For Gods sake beleue it: and doe not by an hard harte voide of repentaunce, heape vnto your selues the wrath of God, against the daie of vengeaunce.

But thankfully imbrasyng the riches of Goddes goodnesse, pacience and long sufferyng, acknowledgyng that Gods kindnesse draweth you vnto repentaunce, if ye haue so little spirituall feelyng, and ghostly vnderstandyng, that ye can nothyng bee perswaded, or moued by the comfortable promises, and terrible threatnynges of the inuisible God: yet hauyng corporall yes, and naturall reason, consider the decaie of this realme, and the towardnesse of the kinges Maiestie. Note the decaie of this Realme, and thereby ye shall learne to knowe, that nothyng can make a Realme wealthie, if thei inhabitauntes thereof bee coueteous: for if all landes and goods could haue made a realme happie, notwithstandyng mennes couetcousnesse, then should not this Realme so vnhapie haue decaied, when as by the suppression of Abbeis, Colledges, and Chaunteries, innumerable landes and goodes were gotten.

If Gods worde were ordeined by any o-

ther meane then by the conuertyng of co-
ueitous men, to make that realme happie:
where couetous men be, then surely should
England now be most happie, where gods
woorde is freely sette foorth in the mother
tongue, plainely preached in solempne con-
cregation; and commonly vsed in daily com-
munication. But vndoubtedly wheras co-
uetеous menne be, there neither landes or
goods, no not Gods holy Gospell can doe so
muche good, as couetеousnes doth harme.
Wherefore this realme by couetеousnesse
is so sore decaied, least it shoulde also by the
same be destroied, awaie with your coueti-
tousnes, all you that loue this realme. Or
if ye will not doe it for loue of the realme,
yet for the reuerent obedience, whiche ye
owe vnto God and the kynges maiestie,
awaie with concitousnes, whiche maketh
men seruauntes of mammon, and enemies
vnto god and the kyng. Be ye well assured,
that the kynges maiestie whiche nowe is,
God saue his noble grace, dreadeth God, lo-
ueth his people, and abhorreth coueitous-
nesse, whiche in this realme offendeth god,
dishonoureth the king, anoyeth the people.
Therefore hee doeth partlie nowe per-

ceiue

ceiue and consider, and will do better hereafter, that Prelates with pluralities, and magistrates with many offices, doe burden hym and his people with paiyng Tithes, Fees, and many greate charges, and yet keepe so many roumes vacant of preachers and officers, that his maiestie can not bee duely serued, nor his people well instructed by the preachyng of Gods worde, nor yet well ordered by the ministration of iustice and equitie.

Ye knowest that regratours of Corne, victualles, and of all maner of wares, make suche dearth and scarcitie, that no diligence of good Marchauntes, by honest buiyng and sellyng can prouide anye thinges to bee either good cheape or plentifull. It is well knowen to his gracious maiestie, or at the leaste vnto his honourable councell, that leasemungers, takyng muche of Tenauntes, and paiyng little vnto the Landlordes, haue both their liuynges, and doth the duties of neither. For to their owne priuate luker, thei take Rentes of Tenauntes, and Fermes of Landlordes: but when by occasion, thei shall be required to serue the king for a common wealth, then they will haue

neither Landes nor Farme to doe the kings seruise. Doe not therefore imagin, you that be either of the Cleargie, or of the Laitie in high or lowe degree, that the kinges gracious maiestie, and his honourable counsel, be so negligent, that they dooe not espie, or so parciall, that they will not punishe those which in this realme hinder the preachyng of Gods word, stoppe the administration of iustice and equitie, cause of all thinges, as dearth and scarcitie, and bryng gentlemen to pouerty, and husbandmen vnto beggery. It is spied and must be punished, although it be delaied for a tyme, to see if you of your selues willingly will amend it.

Beware therfore, that ye staie not your selfe vnto a brittle staffe, for it will braste in spildes and pearce through your handes. Do not staie your selfe vpon this imagination, to thinke, that although craftely, contrary to the lawe and conscience, ye dooe inuade other mens roumes, liuynges and goods, yet for bicause ye bee so manye in nomber that doe it, therfore the kyng and his counsell, either cannot or will not bee againste you in it: For truely, euen therefore must thei now nedes witout delaie reforme and

amend

amende it. For as seditious rebellion, so co-
uetous treason beyng in a fewe, maie bee
suffered at the first in hope of amendment,
so long as they fewe by cloking it secretly,
seeme to be ashamed of their owne euill do-
ynges, or afraied of the rulers power and
authoritie: but beyng so many, that they
altogether without shame and feare, fall to
open spoylyng of the realme, then without
delaie muste they needes bee repressed, al-
though they both saie and sweare, that thei
be the kynges subiectes, and breake no la-
wes. If ỹ spoile be found in their handes, it
is neither saiyng nor swearing that can ex-
cuse them. Open spoyle hath been made of
Personages, Prebens, Offices, Fermes,
wares, victualles, and of all maner of mens
liuynges. Therfore there is no delaie to be
taken in hope of amendement, but spedie
prouision for redres must be made for feare
of a generall destruction. You then, that for
wastyng and abusyng of the Lordes goods,
be worthy and likely sone to be displeased,
yet in the meane tyme, whiles ye haue re-
spite, plaie the parte of a wise steward. Re-
store vnto Preachers and Officers, benefi-
ces and offices: let Landlordes haue their

Rentes, and Fermours their Leases: cause buying and selling to be a prouision of good cheape and plentie, and not an occasion of dearth and scarsitie. So shall both God and the kyng perceiuyng your wise prouision, alowe your well doyng, pardon your faultes, and confirme you in your offices.

O refuse the seruise, restore the iniuries of wicked mammõ, that ye may frõ hence forth serue God & the kyng, prouidyng for the people in holines & rightousnes all the daies of your life: take hede when ye go frõ a meaner liuyng vnto a better, frõ a lower office vnto a higher, that ye goe as men called of Christ, not as bewitched and allured by Mammon, sée that god by higher authoritie perceiuyng your faithfulnes in a litle, doe in at the doore of worthinesse and honestie, admitte and receiue you to be trusted with more: beware least that the deuill by flatteryng frendship and coueitous ambition, perceiuyng your worldlynes in a little, doe in at the windowe of wicked bryberye conueie and receiue you, to abuse and bee abused with more. See that ye obeye the commaundement of God, takyng paynes in your duetie to feede and doe good. Doe

not

not consent vnto the temptation of theyr euill, worshippyng hym in worldlines, for to get gaines. These thinges obserued, ye shal be esteemed and taken as worthy ministers of christ, and seruaunts of God, for so much as appertaineth vnto the lawfull callyng and admission of you into your roumes, and also the faithfull diligence in vsyng of your selues in your roumes. Furthermore Paul geueth example of a lowly mynde, whiche doth not iustifie a mans selfe, and iudge euil of other. For so it becõmeth, the seruaunts of God, and the ministers of Christe, euen when they haue doen as thei be commaunded, to acknowledge them selues vnprofitable seruauntes. And not as proude Pharisies, praiyng in the presence of the Lorde, to make boaste of theym selues, and finde faultes with other menne. No, for if other men praise them, thei must not regarde it, no nor if their owne conscience commende them, excepte God also alowe it. Therfore Paul saith. *Mihi pro minimo est vt à nobis iudicer.* It is one of the leaste thynges with mee, to bee iudged of you that be with me, either in tyme or place. *Vel ab humano die,* either of mannes daie, by the experience

of them that shall haue further triall in the
rinuance of time. *Sed neq; me ipsũ iudico.* No
nor I do not iudge my selfe. *Mihi enim nihil*
cõscius sum, sed nõ ideo iustificatus sum. For ther
is nothyng that I knowe my selfe giltie of,
yet through that am I not iustified, no not
through the iudgement of you or of other,
or of mine owne cõscience. *Qui vero iudicat*
me dominus est. He truely that iudgeth me, is
the Lorde iudge of al men. *Quare, nihil ante*
tempus iudicate, wherfore iudge ye nothyng,
afore the time of iudgement. *Quando domi-*
nus venerit, whē the lord shal come to iudge.
Qui et illustrabit occulta tenebrarũ, which also
shal make bright the couertes of darkenes,
and crafty cloking of faultes. *Et manifestabit*
consilia, cordis and shal open the thoughts of
the hartes, which he only searcheth. *Et tunc*
laus erit vnicuique a deo. And then praise shal
be vnto euery one of god, that giueth praise
to the praise worthy. If Paule, beyng a mi-
nister of Christ, and a disposer of Gods mi-
steries, was so faithfull in his doyng, that
neither all the worlde, nor his owne con-
science, could in any thyng reproue hym,
and yet to continue his carefull diligence,
had euermore a greate respecte vnto the

com-

commyng, and iudgement of the lorde: how shall wee thinke that thei reade, and take this place, whiche beyng knowen bothe to theim selues, and vnto the whole worlde, to do very euill in many thynges, yet with out care of amendemente, doe forget them selues, the Lorde, and his iudgements? Surely thei vnderstande it as Peter saieth: that many places of Paule be vnderstande of them, whiche beyng *indocti* καὶ ἀστήρικτοι vnlearned, and vnsetteled in iudgements, στρεβλοῦσι wraste or wryng vntill a wrong pinne, *in suam ipsorum perniciem*, vnto their owne destruction, many places of Paule, *& reliquas scripturas*, & the other scriptures. For whereas this place of Paule should be applied, to make men carefull and diligent, thei wraste and wryng it, to make for them that be carelesse and negligent. For Paule saieth, that he dooeth verie little regarde, what any manne doeth iudge of hym, meanyng thereby, that though all the worlde would commende hym, yet would he not bee vaine glorious, of his well doyng. These saie, thei passe little what any man saieth by them, meanyng thereby, that though al men finde faultes with them, yet will thei

neuer

neuer bee ashamed of their euill doyng. Paule saieth, that no manne should iudge, meanyng that no man, as concernyng secretes of the mynde, should iudge other to be euill, and them selues to bee iuste: and so take occasion to speake shamfully of other, and to glozie in theim selues: thei saie that no manne should iudge, meanyng that neither Preacher noz frende, should so rebuke their manifeste euill deedes, as might giue them occasion, to bee ashamed of theim selues, and leaue iudgyng of other. Let vs not wreste the places of Paule, and of other Scriptures vnto a wrong purpose. Thei wreste the saiyng of Paule vnto a wronge meanyng, when as the mercie of GOD, whiche passeth all his workes, is denied of theim vnto any penitente synner, by their alledgyng of the tenth of Paule vnto the Hebrues. Then is that place not well applied, but wronge wrested. For when it is saied, that if wee synne wilfully, after that wee haue receiued the knowledge of the truthe, there remaineth no more sacrifice for synne, but a fearfull lokyng for iudgement, and violente fire, it is meant that there is remainyng, and reste in the scrip-

tures

sorte no mention of Sacrifice, for the forgiuenesse of synnes, but terrible threatenynges of vengeaunce, to punithe sinners, to be preached vnto wilfull synners. Howbeit, there is no condempnation, but alwayes mercie to bee preached vnto them that graffed in christ Iesu, be penitent sinners, howsoze and ofte soeuer they fall. For his mercie is aboue all his woorkes. Therefoze whensoeuer he suffreth the deuill to tempt mennie to doe synne, oz to plague theym for synne, oz whensoeuer by his word written oz preached, he doeth aggranate synne, all is doon to driue men vnto mercie. The deuill hath caused here in Englande muche synne and abomination, greuous plagues, and soze miseries, god hath sent wonderous plentie of his comfortable woorde. And now brethren all this is euen the woorke of god: for it is God that woorketh all thinges in all men. *Deus est qui operatur omnia in omnibus.* And yet take good heede to the true interpretation of this place, least that ye make god to be the author of sinne, *Qui non nouit peccatū, nec est inuentus dolus in ore eius*, which knoweth no synne by experience of doyng it, nor hath no guile founde in his mouth.

But euen as it was God that did both geue and take awaie Jobs goods: So it is God that doeth all thynges, both good and euill. And as hee did make Job riche, by geuyng hym goods, and pooze by sufferyng, and vsyng the deuill to destroie those goodes: so doeth he good deedes of his owne goodnes, and euill deedes in sufferyng and, vsing the deuill to doe theim. Yea it is euen God that hath concluded all men vnder synne, that hath sufferes the Deuil to tempte all men to doe sinne, yea and *scriptura concluſit omnia ſub peccato*, the Scripture of God hath concluded all vnder sinne, or as Paul speaketh in a nother place more plainly, αἰτοάμεθα. We haue cõcluded or proued, alledging good reason, that both the Greekes and the Jewes bee vnder synne. So nowe all ye by God bee concluded vnderneath synne, that is, by gods sufferaunce the deuill hath causled you to commit sinne. By Goddes ordinaunce the Scriptures and the Preachers of God, doe open and declare that ye be all synners. And this is all doen, *vt omnium miſeriaretur*, that he might haue mercie vpon all, that all might receiue the Pardon of his mercie, without the whiche none can

be

hee saued, none can escape vengaunce. For *non est in aliquo alio salus*, there is no healthe in anye other, *nec aliud nomen datum sub cælo, in quo oportet nos salvos fieri*, nor none other name giuen vnder heauen, in the whiche we should be saued. So that he whiche will haue any healthe, muste come vnto Christe, shewyng hym self wounded with synne, to stande in nede of a Phicisiõ. He that will be saued, must shewe hymself a penitente synner vnto Christe, whiche came not to call the righteous, but synners to amendemente. But he that regardeth the flatterie of the worlde, or the parcialitie of his owne conscience, and thereby taketh occasion to glorie in his owne doynges, he shall finde no mercie, he can receiue no pardon, or forgiuencsse sent from God, to be deliuered onely vnto those that feele, and acknowledge them selues to be sickly, and vnrighteous synners. Thei therefore that feele, and acknowledge the greateste synnes and abhominations in them selues beyng sorie therefore, and intende amendmẽt, be moste worthie, and sure to receiue the greate pardon of Gods mercie, whiche certainly will deliuer them out of al daun-

ger, keepe them in saletie, and bryng them to prosperitie. Yeare therefore, and I will now reade my Commission, by the whiche ye shall well perceiue, that I speake nothyng vppon myne owne heade, but euerythyng accordyng to the commaundemente of the Lorde your God, whiche hath sente me vnto you his people. The exãple of this proclamation. Esay. lviij. *Clama.* Make proclamation openly, that all men maie heare *ne cesses*. Cease not for feare of theim that maie kill the bodie, and can not hurte the soule, *quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam.* Lifte vp thy voice as a trumpet, giuyng men knowledge of the cõmyng of the enemies, in the tyme of warre. So giue theim knowledge of the swearde of vengeaunce, whiche shall folowe immediatly after this warnyng. *Et annuncia populo meo scelera eorum.* And shewe theim their faultes that in the bearyng of my name, and professyng my religion will be my people. *Et domui Iacob peccata sua*, and vnto the house of Iacob their owne sinne: vnto all sortes of menne, euen those sinnes whiche they them selues doe vse. Vnto the Cleargie, the sinnes of the Cleargie, vnto the Laitie, the sinnes of the Laitie: and vn-

to euery degree, ẏ sinnes that be of that degree vsed. Shew the cleargie that they feede theym selues fat with many liuinges, & let my flocke be scattered and vnfed, because there is fewe preachyng Pastours that can and will feede them. Shewe the Cleargie that thei can neither teache, nor require the king and Laitie to prouide newe liuynges for Preachers, vntill they dooe restore forth of their owne handes, those which be prouided alreadie: shewe suche of the Cleargie as bee fatlinges, puft vp with pluralities, that thei neither haue fed, do feed, or can feede my flocke, yet haue spoyled, dooe spoyle, and will spoile my lambes, the kynges subiectes, and their owne brethren, so long as thei vse their pluralities. Shew the Laity that they haue robbed mee their Lorde and GOD of double honour due vnto my ministers: for they haue taken awaie the Fodder that was prepared for the labouryng Oxe, and been disobedient vnto my Lawe, pronunced by theim that sate in Moyses Cheire.

Shew the nobilitie that thei haue oppressed the comminaltie, keping theim vnder in feare and ignoraunce, by power and auctoritie, whiche might and shoulde haue been louingly learned, their obedience and duetie to both god & the kyng, by preachnig of the gospel. Shewe

the nobilitie that thei haue extorted and famished the commonalty, by the heighthenyng of Fines and Rentes of Fermes, and decaiyng of hospitalitie and good house keepyng. Shewe the commonaltie that they be both Traitours and rebels, murmuring and grudging against myne ordynaunces: tell the commonaltie that the Oxe draweth, the Horse beareth, the Tree bringeth forth fruites, and the earth corne and grasse to the profite and comforte of man, as I haue ordained them: but they of the commonaltie in Englande buye and selle, make bargaines, and do all thynges to the grief and hinderaunce of man, contrarie to my commaundement. Tell the commonaltie that thei take one anothers Ferme ouer their heades, they thruste one another out of their houses, they take leases vnto theym selues, and let theim dearer vnto other: thei buie cornes and wares to make other paie more deare for it: they hurt and trouble, eate vp and deuour one another. Tell all Englande high and lowe, riche and poore, that they euery one prowlyng for them selues, be seruaunts vnto Mammon, enemies vnto God, disturbers of common wealth, and destroiers of theym selues. And for all this, let theym knowe that I haue no pleasure in the death of a synner, *Sed magis vt conuertatur & viuat,*

not, but rather I geue him respit, and send him warnyng that he may turne and liue, comfortably here vpon earth, and ioifully in heauen for euer. Therfore if any in England do turne and amende, he shall saue hym selfe. But they which will not repent and amende, shal not be saued by their fathers or frendes, which by repentaunce be as sure them selues to be accepted vnto me, as was Noe, Daniell & Job: but and if all, or the most parte of thē in England, turne and amende them, saie vnto Englande: *Delectaberis super domino*, From henforth thou shalt haue delite and pleasure in the Lorde, & *sustollam te super altitudines terre*, and I will lift thee higher in honour wealth and power, then any other realme, in, or vpon the earth, *et cibabo te hereditate Iacobi patris tui*, & so will I fede thee with the inheritance of Iacob thy father. I will restore vnto thee whatsoeuer lande or holdes in Scotlande or in Fraunce, did at any tyme belong vnto Iacob thy Father, vnto the kinges of this realme, *os enim domini locutum est*, for the Lordes owne mouth hath spoken it, which is a better assurance vnto this commission, then though it were Signed and Sealed with ten thousande mens handes.

Now al you that entende to be saued by the mercies of god in our sauiour Iesu christ, come

When ye be called from greedy couetousnes, wherewith ye haue beene blinded to wreake goods wrath: receiue mercie and grace, whiche be nowe frely offred to make you from hencefoorth holy ministers of Christe, and faithfull dispensers of the manifolde giftes of gods grace and goodnes, and nowe for feare of forgetfull negligence, when ye departe hence, replenishe youre myndes with the comfortable remembraunce of your owne grieuous miseries, and of Gods greate mercies, in secret meditation of the Lordes prayer, here tarying together in quietnes a little for to receiue the Lordes blessyng. The God of peace that brought againe from death, our Lorde Jesus, the great shepehearde of the sheepe, throwe the bloud of the euerlastyng Testament, make you perfect in all good workes, to doe his will, worckyng in you that whiche is pleasaunt in his sight, through Jesus Christe. *Amen.*

BRITISH MUSEUM 11 JUL 1901

God saue the Queene.

These bookes are to be solde at the North doore of Paules, at the signe of the blacke Boye.

finis laus deo